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# THE MYSTICAL VISION OF EXISTENCE IN CLASSICAL ISLAM

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DES ISLAMISCHEN ORIENTS

GERHARD BÖWERING

# The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam

The Qur'ānic Hermeneutics  
of the Šūfi  
Sahl At-Tustarī (d. 283/896)



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*Meinen Eltern*

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## Introduction

Our study of a commentary on the Qur'ān (*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*) that is attributed to an exponent of classical Šūfism, the Muslim mystic (Šūfī) Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh b Yūnus b 'Īsā b 'Abd Allāh b Rafī' At-Tustarī (d. 283/896), falls naturally into two parts of three chapters each. The first part is focused on the text of this commentary (*Tafsīr*), its author and the literary tradition that surrounds and preserves it. Part II concentrates on the analysis of its content, the hermeneutics of its method and the structure of its thought.

In the first chapter we examine those sections of the Šūfī primary sources that are relevant for Tustarī's thought and constitute the background against which the *Tafsīr* can be compared. Chapter II reconstructs the rough outline of Tustarī's life-span from the extant source materials, and examines Tustarī's relationship to his masters and disciples. Chapter III evaluates the available manuscripts of the *Tafsīr*, determines the transmission of the text, and establishes the extent to which the authorship of the commentary is to be attributed to Sahl At-Tustarī. It describes the structure of the work as a continuous commentary on a selection of Qur'ānic keynotes, demonstrates various layers of content, and points out the method by which Tustarī derives mystical insights from the Qur'ān.

On the basis of solid textual data thus established, Part II analyzes the principal topics of Tustarī's mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān. It disregards the exhortations to religious conduct and the enumerations of ascetic guidelines embodied in the *Tafsīr*, and also neglects numerous elements of traditional theology and anecdotal illustrations. It emphasizes, however, the genuinely mystical core of Tustarī's experience of God, namely, that area in which the Šūfī penetrates to the certain and immediate awareness of God's presence within his inmost being.

Tustarī's experience of God is deeply rooted in the Qur'ānic notion of the One God who, though inaccessible in absolute mystery, manifests himself in two fundamental events antecedent and subsequent to the phenomenal existence of man in the world of temporal creation. These two events, the pre-existential Day of Covenant and the post-existential Day of Resurrection, delineate the origin and end of Šūfī experience (Chapter IV). By virtue of the re-actualization of his pre-existential past and the anti-



cipation of his post-existential future, man is able to realize these two antipodal events in his phenomenal existence and to penetrate the actual realization of God's immediate presence within his inmost being (Chapter V). The Qur'anic prophets and Muslim mystics, God's Messengers and Friends, represent the prototypes of this experience. The experience itself occurs on the plane of the total, living reality of man, the obedient and believing creature, in whom the God-centered inclination of the heart has overcome the egoistic tendency of the human self (Chapter VI).

Tustarī's *Tafsīr* has not yet been the subject of an analytic and textual study. There is not even a reliable printed edition of the Arabic text of the work. No scholar in the Islamic field has directed his attention to a topical study of Tustarī and his thought, although Tustarī figures as a frequently mentioned authority in Ṣūfī sources and is cited in any serious survey of classical Ṣūfism.

As early as in the year 1907, I. Goldziher explored the doctrines of the Sālimiyyah, a theological school that took its name from Ibn Sālim, father and son, Tustarī's direct disciples.<sup>1</sup> The intensive study of Ḥallāḡ (d. 309/922) led L. Massignon to discuss certain features of the life and thought of Tustarī, who was Ḥallāḡ's spiritual master for a short duration. Massignon gathered the results of his research concerning Tustarī in various passages of his works.<sup>2</sup> Massignon's contributions to a study of Tustarī, scattered and incomplete as they may be, represent the first serious examination of Tustarī's world of Ṣūfī ideas and open up avenues of research into a rather obscure area of Ṣūfī studies. The article "Sehl ut-Tüsteri" by A. Subhi Furat in the *Islam Ansiklopedisi*,<sup>3</sup> adds a number of new references to the data supplied by Massignon.

Throughout the thorough study of B. Reinert on classical Ṣūfism<sup>4</sup> one finds scattered quotations of Tustarī's ideas concerning *tawakkul* (trust in God). In substance, these quotations can be understood as aptly summarizing the basic views of Tustarī on this Ṣūfī theme. The value of C. Tunc's study on the *Sālimiyyah*<sup>5</sup> lies in the edition and translation of the

<sup>1</sup> I. Goldziher, "Die dogmatische Partei der Sālimijja", *ZDMG* 61 (1907), pp. 73–80.

<sup>2</sup> L. Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Ḥallāḡ*, Paris 1922. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968. *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islām*, Paris 1929. *Kitāb At-Ṭawāsīn par Al-Ḥallāḡ*, Paris 1913. *SEI*, 488 f. (art. *Sahl At-Tustarī*). *SEI*, 500 (art. *Sālimiyya*).

<sup>3</sup> A. Subhi Furat, "Sehl Ut-Tüsteri", in: *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. X (Istanbul, 1966), pp. 322–324.

<sup>4</sup> B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik*, Berlin, 1968, passim.

<sup>5</sup> C. Tunc, *Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī und die Sālimiyya*, Bonn 1970, dissertation directed by O. Spies and G. Mensching.

*Kitāb al-mu'āraḍah* which is ascribed to Tustarī. The late Professor A. J. Arberry directed the doctoral dissertation of M. K. J. Gaafar, which remains as yet unpublished.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> M. K. J. Gaafar, *The Ṣūfī Doctrine of Saḥl At-Tustarī with a Critical Edition of His Risālat al-ḥurūf*, Cambridge 1965. The late Professor Arberry kindly encouraged our proposed study on Tustarī in a letter to Professor Landolt.



## Chapter I

### The Šūfī Primary Sources and the Tustarī Tradition

Sahl At-Tustarī is cited in the Šūfī primary sources either anonymously or by his name (*ism*) of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh or his nickname (*kunya*) of Abū Muḥammad or his surname (*nisbah*) of At-Tustarī. In these sources Tustarī appears as the avowed author of a considerable body of aphorisms and sayings. He also represents the model ascetic of numerous anecdotes that illustrate these sources. These aphoristic and anecdotal materials concerning the life and thought of Tustarī constitute what may be termed the "Tustarī tradition." This tradition was fundamentally formed by Tustarī himself as its principal author. It was, however, recorded, transmitted and amplified by the circle of his followers and became integrated into particular Šūfī primary sources to a varying degree. Although the Tustarī tradition, which is gathered from these sources, can be regarded as reflecting the bulk of Tustarī's teaching, it does not represent the work of Tustarī in its entirety and complete integrity.

The extant materials of the Tustarī tradition can be classified under three categories which mark three phases of development: (1) the Tustarī tradition until 356/967, reflected in works ascribed to Tustarī; (2) the Tustarī tradition from 356/967 until 465/1074, an integral part within the representative sources of *'ilm at-taṣawwuf* (the science of Šūfism); (3) the materials, quoted on Tustarī's authority in Šūfī sources later than 465/1074, with little additional information. The incisions at 356/967 and at 465/1074 are warranted by the development of the Šūfī primary sources with regard to the Tustarī tradition, as it will be shown in the following pages.

#### 1. The Tustarī Tradition Prior to 356/967

The Šūfī primary sources of this period that are concerned with the Tustarī tradition exclusively focus on Tustarī's teaching and Šūfī practices. Their point of reference is Tustarī; the ideas and practices of other Šūfī masters are only taken into consideration insofar as they are related to Tustarī. All these sources claim Tustarī as their author and depict him as a creative Šūfī master.

The bibliographical evidence of relevant sources and the examination of extant manuscripts shall demonstrate that Tustarī actually was an author of Šūfī works and that those Šūfī works, attributed to Tustarī but compiled by disciples, essentially rest on Tustarī's teachings. Thus the Tustarī tradition of this period has to be considered as largely authentic, even if substantial parts of it were collected by close associates.

The circle of Tustarī's disciples and followers represents the "carrier" of this Tustarī tradition which was chiefly created by Tustarī himself and preserved by his followers, who transmitted it partly in the form of their master's apophthegmata, partly as his commentary on Qur'ānic passages, partly in the form of anecdotal accounts, and partly by way of glosses of their own. In the process of transmission, a reasonable measure of interpretation on the part of Tustarī's associates was added to Tustarī's original doctrine. The extant works ascribed to Tustarī preserve traces of this interpretative activity of his followers.

To the Tustarī tradition of this period belong certain works, lost today, which are recorded by title in the bibliographical literature. Numerous excerpts of these works have been integrated into later Šūfī sources. Some of their sections have been completely omitted in the course of time and are most likely lost forever. Other extracts have been greatly expanded by a layer of explanatory glosses and pious embellishment. Despite these shortcomings, the source materials of this period include the major part of the authentic and genuine Tustarī tradition. This general outline of the situation of sources shall be documented in detail by the bibliographical evidence concerning the works of Tustarī and by the critical examination of the manuscripts of extant works ascribed to Tustarī.

The transmitters of Tustarī's thought and doctrine did not only copy written materials, but largely relied on the oral instruction of their master. This oral way of communication is clearly evidenced by the transmission in the form of apophthegmata attributed to Tustarī. Moreover, a great variety of Tustarī's sayings and comments on Qur'ānic verses actually exhibit distinct features of oral instruction.

#### a) The Bibliographical Evidence

In his *Kitāb al-fihrist*, completed in 377/988, Abu'l-Farağ b An-Nadīm (d. 385/995) ascribes three works to Tustarī, which today are either lost or unknown by the title given in the *Kitāb al-fihrist*.<sup>7</sup> They are: *Kitāb daqā'iq*

<sup>7</sup> J. W. Fück, *EP*, III, 895 (art. *Ibn An-Nadīm*); F. Sezgin, *GAS I*, 385–88; Ibn An-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist* (ed. G. Flügel), Leipzig 1872, p. 186.

*al-muḥibbīn* (The Intricacies of the Lovers), *Kitāb mawā'iz al-'arīfīn* (Exhortations of the Gnostics), and *Kitāb ḡawābāt ahl al-yaqīn* (The Answers of the People of Certainty). Thus less than a hundred years after his death Tustarī was known to Ibn An-Nadīm's classical history of Arabic literature as an author of Šūfī treatises.

In the *Kitāb at-ta'arruf*, Kalābādī (d. 380/990) does not list Tustarī among those Šūfis who "published the sciences of allusion in books and treatises", nor does he mention him as having written on Šūfī "conduct".<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, in the *Kašf al-maḡḡūb*, Ğullābī (d. 469/1077) counts Tustarī among those who wrote "exhaustive treatises" on "the rules of Šūfī companionship".<sup>9</sup>

According to a note of the copyist in the 7th/13th century manuscript (ms. *Šahīd 'Alī* 1374, f. 58a) of the *Rasā'il* of Ğunaid (d. 298/910), Tustarī is credited with a Šūfī work entitled *Kitāb al-mūtāq* (The Book of the Covenant).<sup>10</sup> In the *Kitāb al-'ibar*, Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808/1406) attributes a *Zā'irḡah* (a clairvoyance chart) to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh (At-Tustarī).<sup>11</sup> Ibn Quṭlūbugā (d. 879/1474) ascribes a *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī in the *Tāğ at-tarāğim*.<sup>12</sup> But it appears that, on account of an error, perhaps scribal, Tustarī's name took the place of Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān As-Sulamī. The *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn* of Dāwūdī (d. 945/1538) quotes Sahl At-Tustarī as the author of a commentary on the Qur'ān, yet a blind spot in the relevant passage (of the underlying manuscript) has blotted out any further information.<sup>13</sup>

The *Kawākib ad-durriyyah* of Munāwī (d. 1032/1622) cites *Raqā'iq al-muḥibbīn* (The Delicacies of the Lovers), *Mawā'iz al-'arīfīn*, and *Ḡawābāt ahl al-yaqīn* as works of Tustarī.<sup>14</sup> The Turkish encyclopedist Muṣṭafā b 'Abd Allāh Ḥāğḡī Ḥalīfa Kātīb Çelebī (d. 1067/1657) completed in the last years of his life the bibliographical encyclopedia *Kašf az-ẓunūn*.

<sup>8</sup> Kalābādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Ishāq, *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li-maḡhab ahl at-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. J. Arberry), Cairo 1934 p. 11; tr. A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfis*, Cambridge 1935, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ğullābī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Al-Huḡwīrī, *Kašf al-maḡḡūb* (ed. V. A. Zhukovsky), Tehrān 1336 s, p. 439; abridged tr. R. A. Nicholson, *Kašf al-maḡḡūb*, Leiden 1911, p. 338.

<sup>10</sup> A. H. Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd* London 1962, pp. 40 (text); 160 (translation).

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ḥaldūn, Walī Ad-Dīn 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, Beyrouth 1961, vol. I, 206 f.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Quṭlūbugā, *Tāğ at-tarāğim* (ed. G. Flügel), Leipzig 1862, p. 51

<sup>13</sup> Dāwūdī, Šams Ad-Dīn Muḥammad b 'Alī b Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, 2 vols., Cairo 1392/1972, I, 210.

<sup>14</sup> Munāwī, 'Abd Ar-Ra'ūf, *Al-Kawākib ad-durriyyah fī tarāğim as-sādat aš-šūfiyyah*, 2 vols., Cairo 1938, cf. I, 243.

In it he mentions two works of Tustarī: *Al-Ġāyah li-ahl an-nihāyah* (The Goal For the People of Ultimate Concern) and *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (The Stories of the Prophets).<sup>15</sup> According to the *Risālat al-manhiyāt* (ms. *Tehrān Fac. Law, mağ. 251ğ*) copied in 1279/1862, Tustarī is the author of a *Kitāb ḍiyā' al-qulūb* (The Radiance of the Hearts), of which the *Risālat al-manhiyāt* is considered an extract (ff. 12b–13a). In his *Hadiyat al-'arīfīn* Ismā'il Pāšā Bağdatlı (d. 1338/1920) cites Tustarī as author of six different works: *Ġawābāt ahl al-yaqīn*, *Daqā'iq al-muḥibbīn*, *Zā'irğah*, *Al-Ġāyah li-ahl an-nihāyah*, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, *Mawā'iz al-'arīfīn*.<sup>16</sup> Bağdatlı adds the work *Zā'irğah* to the titles listed by Ibn An-Nadīm and Ḥağğī Ḥalīfah.

Among the contemporary histories of Arabic literature Ḥair Ad-Dīn Zirikli's *Al-A'lām* refers to *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* and *Raqā'iq al-muḥibbīn* as works of Tustarī,<sup>17</sup> while 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh, in the *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifīn* cites the following as works of Tustarī: *Raqā'iq al-muḥibbīn*, *Mawā'iz al-'arīfīn*, *Ġawābāt ahl al-yaqīn*, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm*, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*.<sup>18</sup>

Brockelmann<sup>19</sup> refers to three manuscripts of a *Tafsīr* ascribed to Sahl At-Tustarī and to the collective manuscript *Köpr. 727*. A fairly complete enumeration of extant works ascribed to Sahl At-Tustarī is to be found in Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, which includes Brockelmann's manuscript references.<sup>20</sup>

Since the 4th/10th century Tustarī is known to important sources of Muslim bibliography as an author of Šūfī treatises. The following book-titles of his works have been recorded: *Kitāb daqā'iq al-muḥibbīn* (*Kitāb raqā'iq al-muḥibbīn*); *Kitāb mawā'iz al-'arīfīn*; *Kitāb ġawābāt ahl al-yaqīn*; *Kitāb al-mitāq*; *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*; *Al-Ġāyah li-ahl an-nihāyah*; *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*; *Kitāb ḍiyā' al-qulūb*; *Zā'irğah*.

As to Tustarī's *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, it is listed as such for the first time in the contemporary bibliographical works, although Dāwūdī seems to have been acquainted with it in the 10th/16th century. Almost all of the previously quoted titles suggest Šūfī content of the actual works. But none of the extant manuscripts of works ascribed to Tustarī carries any of the above quoted titles (except, perhaps for the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*).

<sup>15</sup> Ḥağğī Ḥalīfah, Muṣṭafā b 'Abd Allāh Kātib Çelebī, *Kaif az-zunūn*, (ed. G. Flügel), 4 vols., Leipzig 1835–58, cf. IV, 303 (= nr. 8534) and IV, 518 (= nr. 9437).

<sup>16</sup> Bağdatlı, Ismā'il Pāšā, *Hadiyat al-'arīfīn*, 2 vols., İstanbul 1951–55, cf. I, 412.

<sup>17</sup> Zirikli, Ḥair Ad-Dīn, *Al-A'lām*, 10 vols., Cairo 1954–59, cf. III, 210.

<sup>18</sup> Kaḥḥālāh, 'Umar Riḍā, *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifīn*, 16 vols. Damascus 1957–61, cf. IV, 284.

<sup>19</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols. and 3 suppl. vols., Leiden 1937–49; cf. I, 190; SI, 333.

<sup>20</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 647.

## b) Extant Works Ascribed to Tustarī

The examination of extant works ascribed to Tustarī can be based on Sezgin's list of manuscript references, if certain modifications and corrections are included: *Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (The Commentary of the Noble Qur'ān) mss: *Gotha* 529 (153ff., 825 A.H.)

*Fātiḥ* 638 (72ff., 872 A.H.)

*Ṣan'ā'* 62 (112ff., 936 A.H.)

*Fātiḥ* 3488/2 (ff. 181a–330a, 965 A.H.)

*Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38, *tafsīr* 68 (107ff., 1269 A.H.)

*Zāhiriyyah* 515 (146ff., 13th c. A.H.)

printed: Cairo 1326 A.H. and 1329 A.H.

*Kalām Sahl b 'Abd Allāh* (The Sayings of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh)

ms: *Köpr.* 727/1 (ff. 1–153b, 7th c. A.H.)

*Kitāb aṣ-ṣarḥ wa'l-bayān li-mā aškala min kalām Sahl* (Explanation and Clarification to Difficult Points of Sahl's Doctrine)

ms: *Köpr.* 727/2 (ff. 154a–206a, 7th c. A.H.)

*Esad* 1623 (42ff., about 1100 A.H.)

*Kitāb al-mu'āraḍah wa'r-radd 'alā ahl al-firaq wa-ahl ad-da'āwā fi'l-aḥwāl* (Remonstrance and Refutation of the People of Factions and of the People of Pretensions concerning the Mystical States)

ms: *Köpr.* 727/3 (ff. 206a–243b, 7th c. A.H.)

*Kalimāt al-imām ar-rabbānī Sahl b 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī*

(Sayings of Our Guide and Divine Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī)

mss.: *Ist. Un. Lib. A.* 4089 (34ff., 11th c. A.H.)

*Esad* 3527 (ff. 217b–248b, about 1100 A.H.)

both mss., according to Sezgin, are identical with *Kalām Sahl* (ms. *Köpr.* 727/1)

*Kitāb laṭā'if al-qīṣaṣ* (The Subtleties of the Stories of the Prophets)

ms: *Ṭal'at, mag.* 283 (56ff., 838 A.H.)

*Risālah fi'l-ḥurūf* (Treatise on the Letters)

ms: *Ch. Beatty* 3163/3 (ff. 83b–87a, 686 A.H.)

*Risālat al-manḥiyāt* (Treatise on Illicit Acts)

ms: *Tehrān, Fac. Law* 251g (ff. 12b–19a, 1279, A.H.)

*Risālah fi'l-ḥikam wa't-taṣawwuf* (Treatise on Wisdom and Ṣūfism)

ms: *AS* 4128/4 (ff. 148–168, 7th c. A.H.)

The *Risālah fi'l-ḥikam wa't-taṣawwuf*, listed by Sezgin, merely represents a 7th/13th century selection of Tustarī's sayings which were copied exclusively from Quṣairī's *Risālah*.<sup>21</sup> The *Manāqib imām ahl al-ḥaqq ila'l-ḥaqq wa-manāqib ahl Allāh 'azza wa-ḡall* (ms. *Ṭal'at, taṣawwuf* 1581,

<sup>21</sup> Quṣairī, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm, *Risālah fi 'ilm at-taṣawwuf* Cairo, 1385/1966.



367ff., 675 A.H.) is ascribed by Sezgin to Tustarī; however, although it is stated on the title page of the manuscript that Sahl At-Tustarī compiled the work (and that Muḥammad Ar-Raṭīnī wrote a commentary on it), the actual text of the manuscript has no value as source material for the Tustarī tradition since it is mainly concerned with Egyptian Šūfīs of the Šādīlī affiliation and does not include a single reference to Tustarī.

Thus, despite certain limitations of access to the manuscripts of works ascribed to Tustarī, we are convinced that we have, especially in the *Tafsīr* and in ms. *Köpr. 727*, the main and substantial part of the early Tustarī tradition extant in manuscript. Our assessment of these manuscripts here excludes the *Tafsīr*, which will be dealt with separately in Chapter III.

#### *Ms. Köpr. 727*

This manuscript of 243 folios is divided into three parts:

- (1) *Kalām Sahl b 'Abd Allāh* (ff. 1a–153b)
- (2) *Kitāb aš-šarḥ wa'l-bayān li-mā aškala min kalām Sahl* (ff. 154a–206a)
- (3) *Kitāb al-mu'araḍah wa'r-radd 'alā ahl al-firaq wa-ahl ad-da'āwā fi'l-aḥwāl* (ff. 206a–243b)

On a fly-leaf, prefixed to ms. *Köpr. 727* by a later hand, two anecdotes about Tustarī are recorded, which are culled from the *Maṣāri' al-'uṣṣāq* of Abū Muḥammad Ġa'far As-Sarrāğ (d. 500/1106).<sup>22</sup> Though the folios of ms. *Köpr. 727* are numbered 1a to 243b, it is obvious that the beginning of the manuscript, including the title-page, possibly about a dozen to twenty folios in all, are missing.

Sezgin gives the first part of ms. *Köpr. 727* the title *Kalimāt Sahl b 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī*, probably by reason of the title *Kalimāt al-imām ar-rabbānī Sahl b 'Abd Allāh at-Tustarī* of the mss. *Ist. Un. Lib. A. 4089* and *Esad 3527* (ff. 217b–248b).<sup>23</sup> More correctly, however, it should be entitled *Kalām Sahl b 'Abd Allāh* or *Kalām Sahl* as marked in the final lines of different subsections (cf. ff. 3a; 19a; 40a; 63a; 79b). It comprises a first section that is divided into five subsections (*ğuz'*) of varying length (ff. 1a–79b) and a second section (ff. 79b–153b) with occasional subdivisions into short chapters (*bāb*).

The first part as a whole (ff. 1a–153b) constitutes a collection of sayings, one added to the next. There are several repetitions and no clear principle of order. Also, the division into subsections does not signify a strict separation of subject matter. Sometimes certain topical associations seem to form small blocks of sayings focused on related Šūfī ideas and key

<sup>22</sup> Sarrāğ, Abū Muḥammad Ġa'far b Aḥmad b Al-Ḥusain, *Maṣāri' al-'uṣṣāq*, 2 vols., Beirut 1969; cf. I, 197; 271.

<sup>23</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 647.

terms. All these sayings are attributed to Tustarī, some of them having parallels in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* or resembling statements quoted on Tustarī's authority in Šūfī primary sources.

The *Šarḥ* (ff. 154a–206a), the second part of ms. *Köpr.* 727, is clearly marked as a separate unit through its book heading and colophon. As a commentary to difficult points of Tustarī's doctrine, it proceeds by listing a series of Tustarī's sayings which are, in each case, immediately followed by explanatory remarks of the commentator 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī.<sup>24</sup> This part is evidently compiled by Ṣaḡalī. His is the choice of Tustarī's sayings and the commentary.

The *Mu'araḍah* (ff. 206a–243b), the third part of ms. *Köpr.* 727 presents itself as a separate section through book heading and colophon. On the whole it continues the style of sayings by Tustarī which are irregularly commented upon by Ṣaḡalī. This pattern is somewhat broken by ff. 206b–212b, which include a series of anecdotes with reference to Tustarī (ff. 206b–209a) and a passage of refutation (*mu'araḍah, radd*) in the strict sense (ff. 209a–212b) that expresses Tustarī's theological creed in contradistinction to the Murğī'ah and Qadariyyah.

Both *Šarḥ* and *Mu'araḍah*, are explicitly considered as part of *Kalām Sahl* as it is evidenced by their respective book headings (cf. f. 154a and f. 206a). Thus, also the colophon of the third part reads *tamma kitāb aṣ-šarḥ min kalām Sahl* (here ends the Book of Explanation of the *Kalām Sahl*, cf. f. 243a).

If ms. *Köpr.* 727 is considered as a whole, it proves, by and large, to be a collection of Tustarī's sayings (*Kalām Sahl*) that is arranged according to no apparent principle of order. Its second and third parts are connected with Ṣaḡalī's commentary and by virtue of this stand out as separate units. The organic link between Tustarī's sayings and Ṣaḡalī's commentary clearly indicates a date of compilation prior to the latter's death.

Tustarī is not the compiler of the *Kalām Sahl*. We disagree, however, with Sezgin's statement that these sayings of Tustarī were "very probably collected in the 7th/13th century"<sup>25</sup> and suggest that it is a 7th/13th century-copy of a collection of Tustarī's sayings, originally compiled by a close follower of Tustarī, probably Aḥmad b Ṣalīm (d. 356/967), and transmitted by 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī.

This supposition stands on weak ground as long as ms. *Esad* 3527 and ms. *Ist. Univ. Lib.* 4089 remain inaccessible to us. But it has four basic observations in its favour. Firstly, none of the Šūfī sources examined can

<sup>24</sup> Ṣaḡalī, not Ṣiqillī; cf. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, Leiden 1912, (facsimile), f. 354a.

<sup>25</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 647.

be determined as the direct source for all or part of the material included in ms. *Köpr.* 727. Secondly, there are definite resemblances in subject matter between this manuscript and quotations on Tustarī's authority in his *Tafsīr* and in Šūfī primary sources. Thirdly, content, structure and style do not vary between the first part (*Kalām Sahl*) and the second and third parts (*Šarḥ* and *Mu'āraḍah*) except for the additional commentary by Ṣaḡalī. Fourthly, the third part begins (f. 206b) with a statement of Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b 'Abd Allāh (Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī), an ascetic of the city of Qairawān in North Africa, who, on the authority of Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh An-Nihāwandī at Baṣrah, narrates that Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Sālīm had addressed 5,000 questions to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh (At-Tustarī) concerning his views on certain principal mystical doctrines. The answers to these questions, so Aḥmad b Sālīm claims, he did not record but kept in memory until he communicated them to Nihāwandī.<sup>26</sup>

This statement serves an obvious purpose: it tries to explain the authenticity of the sayings, included in the book and ascribed to Tustarī, despite the time interval that separates the compiler, Aḥmad b Sālīm from Tustarī, the professed author. In fact, it demonstrates that these sayings have to be understood as Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Sālīm's summary of Tustarī's teaching in the form of aphorisms. Thus, Tustarī is the main source for the content of ms. *Köpr.* 727, whereas Aḥmad b Sālīm is the principal author and Ṣaḡalī the final compiler, transmitter and commentator.

The *Šarḥ* mentions as its compiler a certain Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī (f. 154a) and calls him a Šūfī master (*aš-šayḥ al-'arīf*). The *Mu'āraḍah* refers to the same person and describes him as an ascetic of Qairawān (*az-zāhid bi-madīnat al-Qairawān*). The further evidence included in ms. *Köpr.* 727 concerning this Ṣaḡalī is merely circumstantial. In one passage (f. 207b), Ṣaḡalī directly transmits on the authority of Abū Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh An-Niffarī (d. after 366/977); whereas in other instances we find him at Makkah (f. 189b), in the Prophet's mosque at Madīnah (f. 207a) and in a Šūfī session (*maḡlis*) at Cairo (f. 208b). Ṣaḡalī does not seem to have met Aḥmad b Sālīm since the transmitter chains quoted in the *Mu'āraḍah* (ff. 206b and 208a), consistently insert a third link between the two men.

The identity of this man is disputed among the Orientalists. Brockelmann,<sup>27</sup> on the authority of Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*, places the death of Abu'l-Qāsim Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī in the year 423/1032. Massignon<sup>28</sup> states that Abu'l-Qāsim Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī wrote in Qairawān in the year 390/999. Sezgin<sup>29</sup> mentions the date of about 380/990 for the death of Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī on the authority of Kaḥḥālāh; and the date 380/990 for the death of 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Bakrī Aṣ-Ṣaḡalī Al-Māliki 'Imād Ad-Dīn on the authority of Baḡdatlī's *Hadīyat al-'arīfīn*. Reinert<sup>30</sup> expresses the view that the Ṣaḡalī

<sup>26</sup> Massignon, *Tawāsīn*, 195.

<sup>27</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, SI, 333.

<sup>28</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 489.

<sup>29</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 647; *GAS*, I, 666.

<sup>30</sup> Reinert, *Lehre*, 293.

quoted in ms. *Köpr.* 727 is identical with the Şaḡalī mentioned by Brockelmann<sup>31</sup> who died in 423/1032, but is different from the Şaḡalī mentioned by Sezgin,<sup>32</sup> who died in 380/990. In order to see clearly in this matter, the relevant biographical sources have to be consulted.

The bibliographical reference in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* mentions an Abu'l-Qāsim 'Aniq b Muḥammad b Al-Ḥakīm At-Tamīmī Aş-Şaḡalī, a virtuous *ṣaiḥ* and ascetic (*zāhid*), who was generally considered as a righteous man and trustworthy transmitter, and is said to have died in the month of Şawwāl of the year 423/1032.<sup>33</sup> The bibliographical reference in Baġdatlī's *Hadiyat al-'ārifin*<sup>34</sup> refers to a Mālikī Şūfī 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Bakrī Aş-Şaḡalī, who died in about (*fī hudūd*) the year 380/990 and was the author of three works, the titles of which suggest Şūfī content: *Al-Anwār fī 'ilm al-asrār wa-maḡāmāt al-abrār*, *Şifāt al-auliya' wa-marātib aḥwāl al-asfiyā'*, *Karāmāt al-auliya' wa'l-muṭī'in min aş-şahābah wa't-tābi'in*.

The *Ma'ālim* of Ibn Nāġī (d. 837/1433), the bibliographical parts of which are a re-edition of the *Ma'ālim* of Abū Zaid Ad-Dabbāġ (d. 696/1297), includes among the accounts of the religious personalities of Qairawān a section on Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Bakrī Aş-Şaḡalī, who is considered as a true şūfī master (*aş-ṣaiḥ al-'ārif*) and is given the epithets of *imām al-ḥaqīqah* (master of reality) and *ṣaiḥ ahl aṭ-ṭariqah* (master of the people of the Path).<sup>35</sup> At Qairawān he studied under (*sami'a 'alā*) among others, Abū Ishāq b Ibrāhīm b Aḥmad As-Sabā'ī (d. Raġab 356/967),<sup>36</sup> Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad b Masrūr Ad-Dabbāġ (d. Ramadān 359/970),<sup>37</sup> Abu'l-Qāsim Ziyād b Yūnus Al-Yaḥşubī As-Sadarī (d. Şa'bān 361/972),<sup>38</sup> Abū Mālik Sa'd b Malik b 'Ubbādah Ad-Dabbāġ (d. 361/972), who was a disciple of Abū Sa'id Al-Ḥarrāz,<sup>39</sup> and Abu'l-'Abbās Tamīm b Abī'l-'Arab b Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Tamīm (d. 371/982).<sup>40</sup> On his journey eastward (*raḡala ila'l-maşriq*) he met Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Ibrāhīm Al-Balḥī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Aḥmad b Zakariyā' Al-Ḥāsimī, 'Alī b Al-Ḥusain b Findār Al-Qāḍī and Abū Bakr b 'Aṭīq b Mūsā Hārūn Al-Hāṭimī. In the year 350/960, he studied at Makkah under Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain Al-Aḥawī. When he left Makkah in order to return to Qairawān, Abū 'Uqqāl gave him his blessing.<sup>41</sup>

This Şaḡalī was known as a traditionist, a jurist and Şūfī who wrote a Şūfī treatise, known as *Anwār Aş-Şaḡalī*, which is considered by Ibn Nāġī as a genuine Şūfī work of strictly Sunnī outlook. He also wrote two other Şūfī treatises, entitled: *Şifāt al-auliya' wa-marātib aḥwāl al-asfiyā'* and *Karāmāt al-auliya' wa'l-muṭī'in min aş-şahābah wa't-tābi'in* of which Ibn Nāġī quotes some excerpts. We are also told that Şaḡalī rebuked the jurists (*al-fuqahā'*) for their refusal to recognize the *karāmāt*, God's charismatic gifts to the Şūfis (*mā wahaba al-ḥaqq li-auliya' ihī*).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL*, SI, 333.

<sup>32</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 666.

<sup>33</sup> Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, f. 354 a.

<sup>34</sup> Baġdatlī, *Hadiyat al-'ārifin*, I, 514.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Al-Qāsim b 'Isā, Ma'ālim al-imān fī ma'rifat ahl al-Qairawān*, 4 vols. Tūnis 1320/1902, cf. III, 181–183.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 91.

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 96.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 98.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 97.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 120.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 182.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Nāġī, *Ma'ālim*, III, 183.

Though Ibn Nāğī does not know the date of Ṣaḡalī's death, he informs us that the latter died before Abū Muḥammad b Abi Zaid, who is to be identified with the Mālikī jurist Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b Abi Zaid 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Al-Qairawānī and died in 386/966 at Qairawān.<sup>43</sup> The *Ma'ālīm*, which is chronologically arranged according to the dates of death of the persons quoted, inserts the biographical account concerning Ṣaḡalī in the beginning of the 5th/11th century; the last entry before Ṣaḡalī carries the date of death Ġumādā al-āḥirah, 404/1013, and the second person recorded after Ṣaḡalī died Raḡab 407/1017.<sup>44</sup>

No doubt, the confusion as to the identity of our Ṣaḡalī is dispersed if the reference of Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* is discarded for the obvious discrepancies in the name of the person in question. Thus, the Ṣaḡalī of ms. *Köpr.* 727 is identical with the Ṣaḡalī of Ibn Nāğī and Baḡdatli as well as with the Ṣaḡalī mentioned in *GAS* I, 647 and *GAS* I, 666. This Ṣaḡalī died slightly before 386/996, certainly not earlier than 380/990.

On the basis of this biographical evidence it may be safely asserted that our Ṣaḡalī added his commentary to Tustarī's sayings some time during the years 350/960 and 386/996, possibly during or after his sojourn at Makkah. The bulk of Tustarī's sayings, to which Ṣaḡalī's commentary is organically linked, has, therefore, to be dated prior to the year 350/960. Since the content of ms. *Köpr.* 727, as a whole, indicates a close follower of Tustarī with Sunnī outlook as its chief compiler, Ṣaḡalī himself and some associate of Aḥmad b Sālim (possibly Nihāwandī) have to be considered as the final compilers who are responsible for this collection of Tustarī's sayings.

### *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-qīṣaṣ*

The manuscript *Laṭā'if al-qīṣaṣ fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (*Ṭal'at, mağ.* 283),<sup>44a</sup> mentioned by Sezgin as a work of Tustarī, actually is entitled *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-qīṣaṣ* and includes 56 unnumbered folios that apparently constitute some part of a collective manuscript. It was written by a certain Muḥammad b Abi Bakr, known as Ibn Al-'Aṭā' Al-Ġurrī, who terminated his copyist's work on Ramaḍān 17, 838 (April 16, 1435). The manuscript does not reveal the name of the author and anonymously states: "You asked me that I compile for you a book which includes the subtleties of the stories of the prophets . . . So I answered you . . ." (f. 1b). The 17 chapters (*faṣl*) of the work deal with the *laṭā'if* (subtleties) of the prophetic stories of Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il, Ya'qūb, Ayyūb, Yūnus, Sulaimān, Mūsā, 'Īsā and Muḥammad (chapters 1–11), and with the *laṭā'if* of Allāh, certain Šūfī anecdotes, the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) and the *Basmalah* (chapters 12–17).

A close examination of the microfilm casts serious doubts on the authorship of Tustarī because of a definite lack of sufficient internal

<sup>43</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 478.

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Nāğī, *Ma'ālīm*, III, 180, 189.

<sup>44a</sup> A microfilm of this manuscript was obtained through the kind services of Ms. N. Rafla (Montreal).

criteria. Some external criteria seem to favour Tustarī's authorship. Ḥaḡḡī Ḥalīfah states one of Tustarī's works, entitled *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, to begin with the words "*al-ḥamd li-llāh al-awwal fa-lā šai' qablahu*",<sup>45</sup> which is the exact beginning of our present manuscript. Furthermore, all Šūfī authorities, quoted in the chapter on Šūfī anecdotes (chapter 13), lived prior to Tustarī (viz. Yaḥyā b Mu'ād, Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī, Sulaimān Ad-Dārānī, Aḥmad b Al-Hawārī).

In subject matter, the theme of prophetic narratives as well as the analysis of God's name and the Basmalah according to their letter patterns, strongly recall similar passages in Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. But, despite this closeness in subject-matter, no particular saying or passage can be found in the present manuscript that could be determined as characteristic of Tustarī if collated with passages concerning the same topic in other works ascribed to Tustarī or in the classical Šūfī primary sources. Thus, decisive internal criteria are missing that would allow us to ascribe the *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-qīṣaṣ* to Sahl At-Tustarī as the author. The present manuscript is also not identical with the *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of a certain Muḥammad b As'ad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Ḥanafī At-Tustarī, which is extant in manuscript (ms. J. 21 (12)), as mentioned by E. Browne.<sup>46</sup>

### *Risālat al-manhiyāt*

The *Risālat al-manhiyāt* forms part of the collective manuscript *Tehrān, Fac. Law. 251* g (ff. 12b–19a).<sup>46a</sup> It was copied by the scribe Aḥu'l-Ašyā, 'Abd Allāh 'Abd Al-Muḍannab on Šafar 5, 1279/July, 1862 at Buḥārā (cf. f. 19a). As an excerpt of a book by Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī, entitled *Kitāb ḍiyyā' al-qulūb* (cf. ff. 12b–13a), this *Risālat al-manhiyāt* presents itself as a catalogue of human vices, prohibited by Allāh and the Prophet, and is illustrated by a few *aḥādīṭ*. Its content does not include a single line that would emerge as characteristic for Tustarī. Thus, its authenticity remains doubtful.

### *Risālah fi'l-ḥurūf*

Ms. *Ch. Beatty 3168/3* (ff. 83b–87a)<sup>46b</sup> was copied in 686/1287. This treatise on the letters of the alphabet and the mysterious letter patterns of

<sup>45</sup> Haḡḡī Ḥalīfah, *Kaṣf az-ẓunūn*, IV, 518 (= nr. 9437).

<sup>46</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. Belonging to the Late E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1932, p. 138–140.

<sup>46a</sup> A xeroxcopy of these folios was obtained through the kind services of Dr. H. Landolt (McGill).

<sup>46b</sup> A photocopy of these folios was obtained through the kind services of Rev. R. Fitzmaurice (Dublin).

the Qur'ān might have Tustarī as its author, though the internal criteria do not go further than to prove a similarity of ideas. We have been unable to find a single direct parallel in any of the other relevant sources that would decide in favour of the authenticity of this treatise.

In summary, on the one hand, the bibliographical evidence of the classical Arabic reference sources demonstrates Tustarī as the author of Šūfī treatises which are no longer extant. On the other hand, only two of the extant works ascribed to Tustarī, the *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* and ms. *Köpr. 727*, definitely reflect Tustarī's teaching. The other minor works ascribed to Tustarī lack any decisive criteria which would determine them as authentic treatises of Tustarī, or as part of the genuine Tustarī tradition. The authentic Tustarī tradition was fundamentally formed by Sahl At-Tustarī himself, though transmitted and amplified in the circle of his disciples. It is not preserved in its complete integrity in the extant works ascribed to Tustarī. But the major extant works, the *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* and ms. *Köpr. 727*, exclusively focus on the Tustarī tradition since they are concerned with the Šūfī teachings of Tustarī and none else. This state of the sources changes after the middle of the 4th/10th century.

## 2. The Tustarī Tradition in the Šūfī Sources Until 465/1074

The Šūfī primary sources written in the period of the roughly one hundred years between 356/967 and 465/1074 concentrate on the Šūfī movement as a whole and consider the Tustarī-tradition only insofar as it forms an integral part of *'ilm at-taṣawwuf* (the science of Šūfism). The materials of the Tustarī tradition are incorporated into the Šūfī primary sources of this period as transmitted by its "carrier", orally or in writing. Through this process, the Šūfī primary sources preserve important sections of the Tustarī tradition which are no longer accessible in the extant works ascribed to Tustarī. Insofar as they comprise source materials concerning Tustarī, otherwise not accessible in earlier sources, they are of equal importance for the Tustarī tradition as the materials included in the extant works attributed to Tustarī.

Since the Šūfī sources of this period are interested in the Tustarī tradition as a peculiar phenomenon of the Šūfī movement within the frame of reference of *'ilm at-taṣawwuf*, it is obvious that their approach to the Tustarī tradition is determined by the selection of those materials which are acceptable to the purpose of a particular author. Thus, each author establishes his own model of Tustarī's thought, which is determined by the selection from the source materials at his disposal, by his methodological

approach, by the trends of regional religious orientation and intellectual outlook, and by the attitude of acceptance or opposition towards the Tustarī-tradition. The good number of valuable and available sources of this period, from Sarrāḡ's *Luma'* to Ġullābī's *Kašf al-maḥḡūb* (to be reviewed in what follows), and their differences in selection, method and outlook create a variety of "Tustarī models" that isolate and stress inherent features of the Tustarī tradition, add new aspects, and thus constitute a frame of reference in which the Tustarī tradition of the extant works ascribed to Tustarī, especially the *Tafsīr*, can be situated.

Evidently, the available sources of this period are not all of equal value. Sarrāḡ's *Luma'* and Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* and *'Ilm al-qulūb* record substantial parts of the Tustarī tradition and greatly rely on their author's direct contact with the second generation of Tustarī's followers. Kalābādī's *Ta'arruf* includes a small fraction of the Tustarī tradition and represents a Tustarī model that is colored by his pro Ḥallāḡ outlook. Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* and Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* record rather diversified Tustarī models, which are indebted to their Ḥadīth-methodology and its tendency to collect whatever there is available through various written and oral sources at their disposal. Dailamī's Tustarī model is largely determined by the subject matter of his *'Atf al-alif* and by the limited scope of his biography of Ibn Ḥafif. Quṣairī and Ġullābī partially draw upon sources within the period under consideration and are to that extent secondary sources. However, there are still important features in their Tustarī models which cannot be obtained elsewhere.

The Šūfī primary sources of this period concentrate on the life and thought of prominent Šūfis of the 2nd/8th to the first half of the 4th/10th centuries and their followers who adopted the approach of particular Šūfī masters and formed groups of common Šūfī outlook in the regional centres of the Muslim world. There are basically three methodological approaches peculiar to these sources: the Šūfī treatise, the Šūfī hagiography (*ṭabaqāt-literature*) and the Šūfī manual.

The Šūfī treatise is the attempt to establish the central Šūfī ideas and the corresponding key terms of the Šūfis' spiritual experience and to illustrate the ascetic and practical conduct of the Šūfī masters. The extant Šūfī treatises, such as Sarrāḡ's *Luma'*, Kalābādī's *Ta'arruf* and Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* belong to the second half of the 4th/10th century and are marked by the absence of the "chain of transmitters" (*isnād*) and by the arrangement of the materials according to subject matter.

The hagiographical collections of Šūfī materials, such as Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* and Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, aim at presenting comprehensive information about the thought of each Šūfī by collecting



his apophthegmata from various sources. Each Šūfī is normally introduced by a short hagiographical sketch which includes a few biographical data. These collections, to some degree chronologically arranged according to classes (*ṭabaqāt*), indicate their sources through the *isnād*.

The Šūfī manual, which combines the two previously mentioned methodological approaches, represents the synthetic result of the Šūfis' endeavor to arrive at the formation of '*ilm at-taṣawwuf*'. This is best evidenced in Quṣairī's *Risālah*, which combines a considerable amount of hagiographical accounts with extensive information about the central ideas of the Šūfis' mystical experience. Ğullābī's *Kaṣf al-maḥğūb* also links a selected, yet representative sector of Šūfī doctrines with basic accounts of particular Šūfis and their so-called schools.

It has become an accepted view of orientalists that most of the Šūfī sources of this period are avowedly apologetic in character and aim at the interpretation of Šūfism with "orthodoxy" (*Sunnī kalām*). As a result, they achieve the fixation of certain standardized Tustarī models which, despite the variety of selection and method, are considerably limited through this approach and outlook towards the Tustarī tradition. At the same time, these somewhat standardized Tustarī models become the guiding principles of many a later Šūfī source, which thus become impoverished versions of an originally rich and multifarious Tustarī tradition. This general outline of the state of the Šūfī primary sources during the period until 465/1074 shall be substantiated in detail with regard to the Tustarī models created by these sources.

Little is known concerning the situation of the Šūfī sources prior to Sarrağ's *Luma'* with regard to the Tustarī tradition. Tustarī is not mentioned in the extant works of Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857), nor in the prominent works of his contemporaries: Ḥarrāz (d. 286/899), Ğunaid (d. 298/910), Ḥakīm At-Tirmidī (d. end of 3rd/9th century) and Ḥallāğ (d. 309/922).

From the early 4th/10th century onward, the apophthegmata of Tustarī figure prominently in the works of '*ilm at-taṣawwuf*'. A number of the early sources are no longer extant, but they were used as source materials for later and available sources of this period. The *Ṭabaqāt an-nussāk*<sup>47</sup> of Abū Sa'īd Al-A'rābī (d. 341/952) and the *Ḥikāyāt al-mašāyih*<sup>48</sup> of Abū Muḥammad Ğa'far Al-Ḥuldī (d. 348/959), no longer extant, have been employed as sources for e.g. Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* and Sarrağ's *Luma'*. It is highly probable that both of these lost sources included references to

<sup>47</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 660f.

<sup>48</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 661.

Tustarī. To what extent Ḥaššāb's (d. 361/971) and Naṣrābādī's (d. 367/997) lost works<sup>49</sup> contained materials on Tustarī is impossible to know. The *Mawāqif* and *Muḥāṭabāt* of Abū 'Abd Allāh An-Niffarī (d. 366/977),<sup>50</sup> however, do not refer to Tustarī. The two no-longer-extant sources, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*,<sup>51</sup> of Abū'l-Farağ Al-Waraṭānī (d. 372/982) and the *Ḥikāyāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*<sup>52</sup> of Abū Bakr Ṣādān Ar-Rāzī (d. 376/986) were important sources for Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah* and Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* which refer to them in the context of Sahl At-Tustarī.

### a) The Treatises

Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī b Muḥammad b Yaḥyā As-Sarrāğ (d. 378/988),<sup>53</sup> a Sunnī mystic of Ṭūs (Ḥurāsān), who travelled extensively in the then Muslim world, mentions Tustarī on a number of occasions in his Šūfī treatise *Kitāb al-luma'*.<sup>54</sup> Although Sarrāğ never met Tustarī, he was well informed about his life and thought through Tustarī's followers, mainly the group of Baṣran mystics who had their chief exponents in Tustarī's disciple Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Sālīm (d. 297/909) and the latter's son Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Sālīm (d. 356/967).<sup>55</sup> The various data which Sarrāğ gathered concerning Tustarī indicate his personal contact with followers of Tustarī, chiefly at Baṣrah,<sup>56</sup> but also at Bağdād, and evidence his direct acquaintance with Tustarī's thought.

After Ġunaid and Šibli (d. 334/946) Sahl At-Tustarī is the most frequently quoted Šūfī master in the *Luma'*.<sup>57</sup> It includes about a hundred items of information on the life and thought of Tustarī and his followers. This information, based on oral and written source materials, is of mixed value and not devoid of repetitions. Very few of the items of information

<sup>49</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 662f.

<sup>50</sup> Niffarī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Al-Mawāqif wa'l-muḥāṭabāt* (ed. A. J. Arberry), London 1935.

<sup>51</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 665.

<sup>52</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 665.

<sup>53</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 666.

<sup>54</sup> Sarrāğ, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī, *Al-Luma' fi't-taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. Nicholson; introduction and abstracts of contents), Leiden 1914; the *lacuna* of Nicholson's edition (p. 407): cf. A. J. Arberry, *Pages From the Kitāb al-luma'*, London 1947.

<sup>55</sup> For Ibn Sālīm, father and son, cf. Chapter II below and. Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, introduction XIX.

<sup>56</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, introduction, V and XX.

<sup>57</sup> It may be noted here that the ms. *Alex. Tas. 46*, entitled *Al-Maqāmāt wa'l-ādāb* and ascribed by Brockelmann (GAL I, 557) to Quṣairī's son, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Ar-Raḥīm (d. 514/1120), is in fact a manuscript copy of Sarrāğ's *Luma'*, though it lacks the first few pages of the *Luma'* but includes the "lacuna" edited by Arberry.

on Tustarī included in the *Luma'* yield concrete biographical data concerning Tustarī's life. The references to Tustarī's pilgrimage to Makkah,<sup>58</sup> to his esteem for Du'n-Nūn (d. 245/860),<sup>59</sup> and to his exile from Tustar,<sup>60</sup> constitute isolated but valuable pieces of information. There are also occasional first-hand reports about Tustarī's disciples and their Şūfī conduct. The bulk of Tustarī's apophthegmata quoted in the *Luma'* is concerned with ideas and conceptions that focus on his mystical experience and his Şūfī way of life,<sup>61</sup> as transmitted by his devout followers. Occasionally, the author of the *Luma'* offers some comments about a saying of Tustarī.

Sarrāğ's choice of sayings by Tustarī is in keeping with the purpose and structure of the *Luma'* as described by R. A. Nicholson: "his (scil. Sarrāğ's) purpose in writing it was to set forth the true principles of Şūfism and to show by argument that they agree with and are confirmed by the doctrines of the Qur'ān and the Apostolic Traditions; that they involve imitation of the Prophet and his Companions, as well as conformity with the religious practice of pious Muslims."<sup>62</sup>

Sarrāğ acknowledges Tustarī as a Şūfī authority but his stand towards Ibn Sālim is controversial. On the one hand, Sarrāğ may have inherited a critical attitude towards Ibn Sālim from his teacher Ibn Ḥafif (d. 371/981) who is said to have taken up an energetic stand against the Sālīmīyyah because of his association with Ḥallāğ and Aş'arī (d. 324/935).<sup>63</sup> The controversy at Baṣrah between Sarrāğ and Aḥmad b Sālim concerning the ecstatic and paradoxical statements (*ṣaḥīyāt*) of Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875) reflects Sarrāğ's critical stance towards Ibn Sālim.<sup>64</sup> These factors might have been the reason that Massignon considered Sarrāğ an "adversary" of Ibn Sālim.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, the *Luma'* shows respect for Tustarī and Muḥammad b Sālim, with whose son Sarrāğ maintained friendly relations, and reflects a sympathetic attitude of certain Sālīmīs towards Ḥallāğ.<sup>66</sup> Thus, as far as the approach to the Tustarī model of the

<sup>58</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 167.

<sup>59</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 181.

<sup>60</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, lacuna 9.

<sup>61</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, e. g. pp. 43, 45, 48, 52, 58, 61, 65, 66, 74, 83, 89, 118, 127f., 217f., 292f., 301, lacuna 9, 143, 146, 148, 152, 155, 162, 164, 174–79, 193, 195, 197f., 202f., 206, 307, 325f., 330, 428.

<sup>62</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, introduction, V.

<sup>63</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 500; *Passion*, 363; Sezgin, *GAS I*, 664; A. Schimmel, *Sirat-i Ibn Al-Ḥafif Aş-Şirāzī*, Ankara 1955, p. 4f.; 22; 37f. (text).

<sup>64</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 390ff.

<sup>65</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 500.

<sup>66</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, introduction, XI f.

*Luma'* is concerned, it might be preferable to consider the quotations taken from the oral and written Tustarī tradition independently of the Sālīmiyyah problematic.

The *Luma'* includes theoretical statements of Tustarī about the Šūfī stages (*maqāmāt*) and states (*aḥwāl*) as well as a few items concerning the interpretation of Qur'ān and Sunnah. It also cites three fragments of a major theme of Tustarī's Šūfī thought, the "secret of the soul."<sup>67</sup> The emphasis of Sarrāg's Tustarī model lies on Tustarī's relationship to his disciples and his attitude towards Šūfī practices.

Harkūšī's (d. 406/1015) *Tahdīb al-asrār*,<sup>68</sup> extant in manuscript, is a Šūfī treatise modelled on Sarrāg's *Luma'*. Because of Arberry's description of the manuscript, *Berlin Ahlwardt*, 2819,<sup>69</sup> the *Tahdīb al-asrār* is likely to include interesting information concerning Tustarī. It is regrettable that we have no access to the manuscript. The *Bahğat al-asrār* of Ibn Ġahḍam (d. 414/1023), partially extant in manuscript, also included crucial references to Tustarī and his disciples. Some of these references, though inaccessible to us in manuscript, are extant in excerpts that are incorporated in the *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* of Abū Nu'aim (d. 430/1038), the *Risālah* of Quṣairī, the *Maṣārī' al-'uṣṣāq* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ġa'far As-Sarrāg, the *Manāqib al-abrār* of Ibn Ḥamīs Al-Mauṣilī (d. 552/1157) and the *Talbīs Iblīs* of Ibn Al-Ġauzī (d. 597/1200).<sup>70</sup>

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm Al-Kalābādī (d. 380/990 or 385/995), a Šūfī of Buḥārā (Transoxiana), wrote a treatise on "the tenets and spiritual experiences of the Šūfis", which he entitled *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf*.<sup>71</sup> Kalābādī's purpose in writing was "to bridge the chasm between orthodox theology and Šūfism, which the execution of Ḥallāg had greatly widened; and this explains why, in his chapters treating the doctrinal beliefs of the Šūfis, he quotes verbally from the creed *al-fiqh al-akbar II*, falsely ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfah."<sup>72</sup> Possibly influenced by Abū'l-Qāsim Fāris, who "was a vigorous defender of Ḥallāg",<sup>73</sup> Kalābādī appears to direct the thrust of his argument towards the defense of Ḥallāg who remains anonymous throughout the treatise.

<sup>67</sup> Sarrāg, *Luma'*, 227, 349, 354, (358).

<sup>68</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 670.

<sup>69</sup> A. J. Arberry, *Khargūshī's Manual of Šūfism*, BSOAS 9 (1937–39) pp. 345–349.

<sup>70</sup> Ibn Ġahḍam, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh Al-Hamadānī, *Bahğat al-asrār wa-lawāmi' al-anwār*, ms. Zāhiriyyah mag. 66/4; cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 675.

<sup>71</sup> Kalābādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. J. Arberry), Cairo 1934; tr. A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfis*, Cambridge 1935; cf. A. J. Arberry, *SEI*, 210 (art. *Kalābādī*); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 668.

<sup>72</sup> Arberry, *SEI*, 210.

<sup>73</sup> Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfis*, XV.

The *Ta'arruf* is of little value as a source of historical information about Tustarī and his disciples. Tustarī, mentioned as one of the great Šūfis, is absent from Kalābādī's list of Šūfī authors and, on a few occasions, is depicted as giving answers to anonymous questioners. There is one anecdote related by disciples about "Sahl being washed on the bier" and an autobiographical statement, "for 30 years I was speaking to God, and men imagined that I was speaking to them".<sup>74</sup> Of the Šūfis known to have been Tustarī's disciples, Ibn Sālim, Muzayyin and Ġurairī are referred to, as well as his mystical forebear Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī. Ḥallāğ, who was a pupil of Tustarī for some time, is, of course, the dominant figure of the whole treatise.

Kalābādī collected in his *Ta'arruf* about thirty fundamental sayings of Tustarī which provide authentic and valuable information about Tustarī's mystical thought.<sup>75</sup> These aphorisms are scattered throughout the treatise under a great variety of chapter headings and demonstrate Tustarī as one of the most often quoted Šūfī authorities of the *Ta'arruf* (after Ḥallāğ, Ġunaid and Nūrī, and before Ibn 'Aṭā, Ḥarrāz, Du'n-Nūn, Ruwaim and Wāsiṭī). The majority of his aphorisms, if isolated from the context in the *Ta'arruf*, are found to focus on two major themes of Šūfī experience: the conditions of the mystic on the Šūfī Path and the idea of mystical knowledge. These two threads of mystical awareness are loosely knit together by a few sayings concerning Tustarī's view of the ideal Šūfī.

Of the main commentaries on the *Ta'arruf*, the *Husn at-ta'arruf* by 'Alā Ad-Dīn 'Alī b Ismā'il Al-Qūnawī (d. 729/1329) and the *Nūr al-murīdīn wa-faṣīḥat al-mudda'in* by Ismā'il b Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Mustamlī (d. 434/1042), the latter represents the oldest surviving Šūfī treatise in Persian prose.<sup>76</sup> The value of this source for the study of the Tustarī tradition is derived from its copious comments on every saying of Tustarī, quoted in the *Ta'arruf*, and from the fact that it was compiled with apparently no motive other than the instruction of Šūfī disciples. It thus reflects a Tustarī model current among Persian Šūfis about 120 to 150 years after Tustarī's death. This work deserves additional attention in connection

<sup>74</sup> Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 123; 111; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfis*, 162; 147.

<sup>75</sup> Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 9; 10; 11; 26; 36; 39; 40; 42; 52; 57; 64; 65; 66; 68; 69f.; 72; 73f.; 79; 90; 106; 111; 123; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfis*, 10; 11; 12; 32; 46; 50; 51; 54; 67; 73; 82; 84; 85; 88; 89; 90; 92f.; 93; 95; 101; 102; 117; 140f.; 147; 162.

<sup>76</sup> Mustamlī, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il b Muḥammad, *Šarḥ-i ta'arruf* (*Nūr al-murīdīn wa-faṣīḥat al-mudda'in*), Lucknow 1328/1910, cf. 4 vols.; cf. I, 74; 80; 98f.; 205; II, 92; 138ff.; 140; 155; 183; III, 38; 68; 108; 113; 114; 127; 131; 132; 133; 141; 142; 146; 151; 171; IV, 9; 72; 144; 146; 161; 191; cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, pp. 67–71.

with the Tustarī tradition because its author was a Šūfī of Buḥārā (Trans-oxiana), the native region of the Šūfī Abū Bakr Al-Baladī, the second last transmitter of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, who died in 504/1110 about two generations after Mustamlī.

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī b 'Aṭīyah Al-Ḥārītī Al-Makkī (d. 386/996)<sup>77</sup> completed his famous Šūfī treatise *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*<sup>78</sup> in the latter part of his life.<sup>79</sup> There is neither a critical edition of the text nor any analytical study of this important Šūfī source which Ġazzālī copied extensively in his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*.<sup>80</sup> Abdel-Kader even states "that the famous *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn* can with justification, be described as an enlargement and popularization of the *Qūt al-qulūb*."<sup>81</sup> But Abdel-Kader's presentation of Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* is not so much a critical evaluation as an appraisal of its significance for the "spiritual atmosphere" of 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century Šūfism.

Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī was a native of the Persian province of Ġibal, but grew up in Makkah.<sup>82</sup> There he became a pupil of the Makkan Šūfī Abū Sa'īd Al-A'rābī (d. 341/952), who was born in Baṣrah in 246/860, studied *Ḥadīth* and *Ta'rīḥ*, took an interest in *Taṣawwuf* and joined the circle of Ġunaid.<sup>83</sup>

At an unknown date, Abū Ṭālib left Makkah and, according to Sezgin, joined the Sālīmīyyh in Baṣrah and later went to Baġdād.<sup>84</sup> According to Abdel-Kader, Abū Ṭālib left Makkah for Baġdād where he studied under

<sup>77</sup> Massignon, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, I, 153 (art. *Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī*); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 666f.

<sup>78</sup> Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932.

<sup>79</sup> Since there is no critical edition of the *Qūt al-qulūb*, we record the following index of the Tustarī-tradition in this work (anon = anonymously quoted):

I: 75 (anon), 86, 94 (anon), 106, 135, 141 (anon), 142, 142 (anon), 145, 174, 175, 180, 186 (anon), 189 (anon), 191.

II: 8, 10, 11, 26, 30, 31, 32, 32 (anon), 33, 35, 41 (anon), 41, 49, 57, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, 71, 77, 79, 80, 81, 88, 92, 94, 109, 121, 125, 128, 134, 136, 137 (anon), 139, 142, 144, 144 (anon), 148, 149, 152, 153, 160, 161, 173, 174, 184, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198.

III: 3, 4 (anon), 6, 7, 8 (anon), 13, 17 (anon), 23 (anon), 23, 27, 28, 29, 31 (anon), 33, 34, 56, 58 (anon), 61, 62, 71, 76 (anon), 78, 79, 80, 80 (anon), 88 (anon), 89, 91, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 112, 120, 125, 133, 153, 174, 185, 186, 187, 202, 203.

IV: 4, 5, 8, 24, 25, 32, 44, 45, 46, 49 (anon), 52, 54, 55 (anon), 60, 62, 82, 87, 89, 98 (anon), 104, 143, 151, 151 (anon), 191 (anon), 217, 219, 227.

<sup>80</sup> Massignon, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, I, 153; *SEI*, 500.

<sup>81</sup> Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd*, London 1962, p. XIV.

<sup>82</sup> Abdel-Kader, *Al-Junayd*, XIV; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 666.

<sup>83</sup> Abdel-Kader, *Al-Junayd*, XIV; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 660; Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, (ed. J. Pedersen; introduction), Leiden 1960; cf. p. 443.

<sup>84</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 666.

Abū Naṣr As-Sarrāğ. "Later he went to Baṣrah where he was too late to meet Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm Al-Baṣrī alive, but where he accepted his teaching from his works and disciples."<sup>85</sup> If Abdel-Kader is correct (incidentally, he does not give any reference for this statement), then Abū Ṭālib cannot have been the "pupil" of Ibn Sālīm the younger as stated by Massignon.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, according to Massignon, Abū Ṭālib became the successor of Ibn Sālīm at the head of "the dogmatic *madhhab* of the Sālīmīyah in Baṣrah".<sup>87</sup>

If we are to judge by the internal evidence of the *Qūt al-qulūb*, Abū Ṭālib must have personally met Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm<sup>88</sup>. On the other hand, according to Al-Ḥaṭīb Al-Bağdādī (d. 463/1072), Ibn Al-Ğauzī (d. 597/1200) and Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1282), Abū Ṭālib came to Baṣrah after Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm's death and clung to the latter's teachings.<sup>89</sup> Thence, he proceeded to Bağdād where his preaching met with rejection by the people. The primary and secondary sources are agreed on the fact that Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī died in Bağdād.<sup>90</sup> He was interred in the Mālīkī cemetery on the east bank of the Tigris.<sup>91</sup>

Tustarī represents one of the foremost authorities of the *Qūt al-qulūb*. He is quoted approximately two hundred times in this treatise, either by name or by his *kunyah*, or anonymously.<sup>92</sup> The printed text of the *Qūt al-qulūb* is not a reliable edition, and makes it impossible to discern how far Tustarī himself, or some of his associates, are hidden behind an anonymous *qāla ba'ḍuhum* ("some Šūfī said") and *qāla ba'ḍu'l-'ulamā'* ("some of the learned Šūfis said"). However, we suggest that in all cases where the *Qūt al-qulūb* introduces a Šūfī saying by the phrase *qāla 'ālimunā* ("our learned Šūfī said"), Tustarī himself is referred to as the author of the subsequent statement.<sup>93</sup> Tustarī may also be considered the

<sup>85</sup> Abdel-Kader, *Al-Junayd*, XIV.

<sup>86</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 500.

<sup>87</sup> Massignon, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, I, 153; *SEI*, 500.

<sup>88</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Ḥaṭīb, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b 'Alī Al-Bağdādī, *Ta'riḥ Bağdād*, 14 vols. Cairo 1349/1931, cf. III, 89; Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafāyāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' az-zamān*, 6 vols., Cairo 1367/1948; cf. III, 430; tr. MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols. Paris 1842–71; cf. III, 20f.; Ibn Al-Ğauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, p. 159.

<sup>90</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Bağdād*, III, 89; Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafāyāt al-a'yān*, III, 430; tr. de Slane, III, 20f.; Safadī, *Al-Wāfi bi'l-wafāyāt* (ed. S. Dederling), 4 vols., Istanbul, 1949–59; cf. IV, 116; Ḍahabī, Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fi naqd ar-riğāl*, 3 vols., Cairo 1325; cf. III, 107; Ibn Ḥağar, Al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, 6 vols., Ḥaidarābād, 1329–31; cf. V, 300.

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafāyāt al-a'yān*, III, 430; tr. de Slane, III, 21.

<sup>92</sup> cited either as *Sahl* or as *Abū-Muḥammad*.

<sup>93</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 26.

author of most of those statements introduced by the phrase *qāla ba'ḍu 'ulamā'inā* ("one of our learned Šūfis said").<sup>94</sup> As long as we have no access to manuscripts of the *Qūt al-qulūb*, this has to remain a conjecture founded on the internal evidence of the aphorisms in question and on certain external, largely circumstantial, indications.

By virtue of the condition of the printed text of the *Qūt al-qulūb* a Tustarī model emerges from this voluminous treatise that has to remain preliminary and incomplete. Nevertheless, the materials of the Tustarī tradition included in the *Qūt al-qulūb* are definitely to be considered as authentic and authoritative. This is already gathered from the epithets "our guide (*imāmunā*)" and "the master of our master (*šaiḥ šaiḥinā*)", with which the *Qūt al-qulūb* addresses Tustarī, while it gives Aḥmad b Sālīm the epithet "our master (*šaiḥunā*)".<sup>95</sup>

Makkī's Šūfī treatise '*Ilm al-qulūb*'<sup>96</sup> was written later than the *Qūt al-qulūb*, since the latter is explicitly quoted in the former<sup>97</sup>. Large passages of the '*Ilm al-qulūb*' are marked as a definitely esoteric, enthusiastic Šūfism, and stand in obvious contrast to the sober, disciplined Šūfism described in the *Qūt al-qulūb*. The '*Ilm al-qulūb*' roughly falls into two sections: the first (pp. 4–144) deals with the mystical thought of the Šūfī gnostic ('*ārif*) concerning wisdom (*ḥikmah*), knowledge ('*ilm*) and unification (*tauḥīd*) and frequently employs crucial verses of the Qur'ān as the starting point for the discussion of these mystical ideas; the second (pp. 144–290) discusses the sincerity (*iḥlās*) and pure intention (*niyyah*) to be observed by the believer (*mu'min*) in certain basic Šūfī practices (*a'māl*), and mainly proceeds by an enumeration of guidelines.

Most of the apophthegmata of Tustarī quoted in the '*Ilm al-qulūb*' are integrated into the first section and center around (a) the idea of Šūfī knowledge ('*ilm*) and the characteristics of those possessed of knowledge ('*ulamā'*), and (b) the idea of the covenant day and Muḥammad's "light nature".<sup>98</sup> God's perpetual presence in the life of man is described by Tustarī's image of "God's standing over man" (*Allāh qā'im 'alaika*).<sup>99</sup> While the passages on Šūfī knowledge ('*ilm*) largely confirm and elaborate Tustarī's statements on the same topic in the *Qūt al-qulūb*, the ideas concerning pre-existential events represent important additions to the few

<sup>94</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 153; but also IV, 44 (!).

<sup>95</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 32, 53; II, 173.

<sup>96</sup> Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', Cairo, 1384/1964.

<sup>97</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', 16 and passim.

<sup>98</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', 50f., 52, 59f., 62, 65–67, 77, 81f., 84f., 90, 92–94, 102f., 114, 117, 128, 141, 169, 173–175, 178f., 215, 221.

<sup>99</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*', 81f.



relevant aphorisms quoted in the *Tafsīr*. In as far as the Tustarī tradition is concerned, the *ʿIlm al-qulūb* seems to draw on a font of materials that is also partially preserved in a rather esoteric treatise by Dailamī.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Ad-Dailamī, probably a younger contemporary of Makkī,<sup>100</sup> wrote an Arabic treatise on mystical love, entitled *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'ala'l-lām al-ma'tūf*, which records a crucial passage concerning Tustarī's conception of Muḥammad's "light nature".<sup>101</sup> Dailamī also wrote *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, a Persian hagiography of his master Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Ḥafīf b Isfakšad Ad-Dabbī Aš-Širāzī (d. 371/981).<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ḥafīf was an Aš'arī theologian and a Sunnī Šūfī of either Zāhiri or Šāfi'ī creed, who counted Sarraġ and Abū Nu'aim among his disciples, and was a declared opponent of Aḥmad b Sālīm against whom he wrote a refutation, *Kitāb ar-radd 'alā Ibn Sālīm*.<sup>103</sup> The contribution of the *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf* to the Tustarī tradition consists in its record of the visits paid to Tustarī by three Šūfis of Fars.<sup>104</sup> Dailamī's Tustarī model thus marks the points of contact between Tustarī and the Šūfis of Fars and stresses Tustarī's idea of divine light as the unifying reality of mystical love, the Prophet and God.

### b) The Hagiographies

Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain b Muḥammad b Mūsā Al-Azdī As-Sulamī (d. 412/1021),<sup>105</sup> a famous Šūfī author of Naisābūr (Ḥurāsān), wrote the oldest extant Šūfī hagiographical collection, which preserved valuable information from earlier Šūfī sources. This work, the *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah*,<sup>106</sup> is concerned with short biographical sketches and substantial accounts of the sayings of those Šūfis active in the eastern parts of the caliphate during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Only three of the 105 Šūfis mentioned belong to the 2nd/8th century; 59 are natives of Ḥurāsān, and 31 are from 'Irāq.<sup>107</sup> Sulamī says that it is the aim and

<sup>100</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 664.

<sup>101</sup> Dailamī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'ala'l-lām al-ma'tūf* (ed. J. C. Vadet), Cairo 1962, p. 33f.

<sup>102</sup> Dailamī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf* (ed. A. Schimmel, introduction), Ankara 1955; cf. Sezgin, GAS, I, 663f.; J. C. Vadet, *ET*, III, 823f. (art. *Ibn Ḥafīf*).

<sup>103</sup> Massignon, *Essai*, 319; Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, introduction, 32; Vadet, *ET*, 823.

<sup>104</sup> Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 132; 151f; 165f.

<sup>105</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 671ff.

<sup>106</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* (ed. J. Pedersen, introduction), Leiden 1960.

<sup>107</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, introduction pp. 21, 35.

purpose of his *ṭabaqāt*-work to mention those statements (*kalām*), characteristic features (*šamā'il*) and biographical data (*sīrah*) which disclose the method (*ṭarīqah*), mystical state (*ḥāl*), and religious knowledge (*'ilm*) of each Šūfī quoted.<sup>108</sup>

The value of this work lies in the fact that Sulamī not only compiles Šūfī sayings but prefixes the *isnād* to the items quoted under each Šūfī. The masterly analysis of the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah* by Pedersen, evidences the reliability of Sulamī's *isnād* indications, and thereby points out its importance as a reference work for earlier Šūfī sources.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt* constitutes an important direct source for the principal Šūfī sources of the 5th/11th century like Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, Quṣairī's *Risālah fi't-taṣawwuf* and Anṣārī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*.

In the middle of the second *ṭabaqah*, Sulamī devotes a section to Sahl At-Tustarī.<sup>110</sup> He gives Tustarī's full name, followed by a few epithets, mentions Tustarī's master Ibn Sawwār, and his encounter with Du'n-Nūn, and points out two possible dates for Tustarī's death. Then he quotes a number of characteristic sayings of Tustarī, along with their *isnād*. To these may be added one aphorism of Tustarī quoted in Sulamī's *Ādāb aṣ-ṣuḥbah wa-ḥusn al-'uṣrah*.<sup>111</sup> The *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah* explicitly mentions Ġurairī, Muḥammad b Sālim, and Muzayyin as disciples of Tustarī. Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, which is extant in manuscript, will be treated separately in chapter III because of its extreme importance for the evaluation of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Sulamī quotes most of the material on Tustarī included in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah* on the authority of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh b Šādān Ar-Rāzī (d. 376/986), Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī As-Sarrāğ (d. 378/988), Abū'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b Aḥmad Al-Fārisī (d. 4th/10th century), and Abū'l-Faṭḥ Yūsuf b 'Umar Al-Bağdādī (d. 385/995). The latter appears to be the transmitter of the Tustarī tradition handed down by 'Ubaid Allāh b Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣağānī on the authority of Tustarī's disciple 'Umar b Wāṣil. This is the chain of transmitters which connects Tustarī with Muḥammad b Sawwār, and through him with the Šūfī Ma'rūf Al-Karḥī (d. 200/815), and the traditionists (*muḥaddithūn*) Ġa'far, Sulaimān, Ṭābit, Anas, (the Prophet). Ar-Rāzī on the other hand seems to hand down the Tustarī tradition as transmitted by Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Sālim (d. 356/967) and Abū Šāliḥ Al-Mālikī Al-Baṣrī. This current of the Tustarī

<sup>108</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5f.

<sup>109</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, introduction 33–38.

<sup>110</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 199–205.

<sup>111</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad, *Ādāb aṣ-ṣuḥbah wa-ḥusn al-'uṣrah* (ed. M. J. Kister), Jerusalem 1954, p. 48.

tradition emphasizes introspection into the psyche of the Šūfī and the demand for joining religious knowledge and action: "God is the focus (*qiblah*) of the intention (*niyyah*); the intention is the focus of the heart (*qalb*); the heart is the focus of the body (*badan*); the body is the focus of the limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*); and the limbs are the focus of this world (*dunyā*)."<sup>112</sup> The Tustarī tradition transmitted by Al-Fārisī seems to be preoccupied with the distinction of various degrees of perfection among men and Šūfis. "The signs (*āyāt*) pertain to God, the miracles (*mu'ǧizāt*) pertain to the prophets (*anbiyā'*); the charismatic deeds (*karāmāt*) pertain to the saints (*auliyā'*); the works of (God's) succour (*ma'ūnāt*) pertain to the disciples (*murīdīn*); and the consolidation (*tamkīn*) pertains to the select (*ḥuṣūṣ*)."<sup>113</sup> It is linked with Tustarī by three lines: one runs through 'Abbās b 'Iṣām, the other through Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain and the third through Abū Ya'qūb Al-Baladī. The two aphorisms of Tustarī (one in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*, the other in *Ādāb aṣ-ṣuḥbah*) that reached Sulamī via Abū Muḥammad Al-Ḡurairī (d. 311/923). Ġa'far Al-Ḥuldī (d. 348/959) and Abū'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b Al-Ḥasan Al-Baḡdādī (d. 361/971) concentrate on the description of the righteous (*ṣiddīq*). Sarrāḡ's sources of the Tustarī tradition are manifold. According to Sulamī, he derives his material from Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, Abū Bakr Al-Farḡānī (d. 320/932) and Muḥammad b Sālim (d. 297/909) as direct transmitters of Tustarī.

Abū Nu'aim Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038),<sup>114</sup> a Šūfī of Persian descent, known to have travelled through 'Irāq, Ḥiǧāz and Ḥurāsān, compiled a considerable collection of accounts and sayings of more than 600 ascetics (*nussāk*) and Šūfis, added biographical notes and indicated the transmitter chain (*isnād*). The work was completed in 422/1031 under the title *Ḥilyat al-auliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*.<sup>115</sup> Pedersen describes the purpose of Abū Nu'aim's compilation: "it was written to strengthen what he regarded as the true Šūfism", which is marked by a trend of religious orthodoxy.<sup>116</sup>

Abū Nu'aim's account of Sahl At-Tustarī is largely a list of sayings culled from written and oral sources at his disposal, among them Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*.<sup>117</sup> The *isnād* places two or three intermediaries between Abū Nu'aim and Tustarī. The biographical notes concerning

<sup>112</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 201.

<sup>113</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 204f.

<sup>114</sup> J. Pedersen, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, I, 142f.

<sup>115</sup> Abū Nu'aim, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1357/1938.

<sup>116</sup> Pedersen, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, 142.

<sup>117</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, X, 189–212.

Tustarī in the *Hilyat al-awliyā* do not exceed the scanty information given by Sulamī.

The transmitter chains of the chapter on Tustarī in the *Hilyat al-awliyā* cite Abū Nu'aim's father and Abū 'Umar 'Uṭmān b Muḥammad Al-Uṭmānī as the principal direct sources for Abū Nu'aim's account of Tustarī. Abū Nu'aim's father accounts for almost half of the material on Tustarī, while another quarter of it is directly accounted for by 'Uṭmānī. The rest is reported by Abū Nu'aim on the authority of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Miqsam (d. 380/990), Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain b Mūsā As-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b 'Abd Allāh b Ġahḍam Al-Hamadānī (d. 414/1023), Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Aḥmad b 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Al-Iṣbahānī and a few others. Abū Nu'aim's approach to the Tustarī tradition is that of a compiler, whose object it is to collect available material on Tustarī from various sources. In this process of collection, however, he does not record each and every available item of the Tustarī tradition. This is clearly evidenced by the selection he makes from the chapter on Tustarī in Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, of which he quotes only a few items and disregards its greater part. Thus, it is obvious that Abū Nu'aim's Tustarī model is multistructured and determined by his choice of material from his chief direct sources.

### c) The Manuals

Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm b Hawāzin b 'Abd Al-Malik b Ṭalḥah b Muḥammad Al-Quṣairī (d. 465/1074),<sup>118</sup> a Ḥurāsānian Arab Šūfī and Aṣ'arī theologian, was the disciple of the mystics Abū 'Alī Ad-Daqqāq (d. 405/1014 or 412/1021) and 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain As-Sulamī (d. 412/1021). Quṣairī's commentary on the Qur'ān, written in 434/1043 and entitled *Laṭā'if al-iṣārāt*,<sup>119</sup> does not include any quotations from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* but cites anonymous comments of a mystical and theological nature on many Qur'ānic verses.

<sup>118</sup> L. Massignon, *SEI*, 287 (art. *Ḳuṣhairī*).

<sup>119</sup> Quṣairī, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm, *Laṭā'if al-iṣārāt*, 6 vols. Cairo s. d. This work is different from Quṣairī's *At-Taisīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr*, also known as *At-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, which is extant in manuscript (cf. *GAL*, I, 432; *S I*, 772) and believed to have been completed in 410/1019; cf. R. Aḥmad, "Abu'l-Qāsim al-Quṣairī as a theologian and commentator," *Islamic Quarterly* 13 (1969), 33–39. H. Ritter, however, states that Quṣairī began the compilation of the *Laṭā'if al-iṣārāt* in 437/1045. He also suggests that *At-Taisīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr* was actually written by Quṣairī's son, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Ar-Raḥīm (d. 514/1120); cf. H. Ritter, "Philologica XIII: Arabische Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul," *Oriens* 3 (1950), 45–47.

Quṣairī's *Risālah fī 'ilm at-taṣawwuf*<sup>120</sup> was completed in 438/1046 to adapt Šūfism to Aš'arī theology. It is doubtful whether the *Risālah* was compiled with the purpose of rescuing Šūfism from the ill-fame to which it had been exposed by the extravagances and antinomian attitudes of the Malāmatiyyah, but it constitutes an attempt at "the revival of the ethico-religious dimension of Šūfism",<sup>121</sup> and has to be considered as representative of moderate Sunnī Šūfism. By its doctrinal orientation, as well as by its structure, the *Risālah* is marked as "a classical manual of Muslim mysticism."<sup>122</sup>

Tustarī is often quoted in Quṣairī's *Risālah* and ranks fourth by frequency of quotation behind Ġunaid, Du'n-Nūn and Šibli. The approximately eighty items of the Tustarī tradition, recorded in the *Risālah*, belong to three different types of material: biographical information, anecdotal illustrations and aphorisms of Tustarī's mystical thought. Most of Quṣairī's biographical information on Tustarī is apparently culled from the writings of Sulamī. A few lines are copied directly from Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*. The bulk of Tustarī's biography, including a long story of Tustarī's early life (unaccounted for in sources prior to the *Risālah*), is quoted on the authority of Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain (possibly a reference to Sulamī's lost work *Ta'rīḥ aṣ-šūfiyyah*). The anecdotal illustrations reflect the Tustarī model of the circle of Tustarī's devout followers, since they betray a marked tendency toward depicting Tustarī as a man of wondrous ascetic deeds and miraculous powers. The value of these anecdotes lies in their reference to Šūfī ways of behaviour as practiced by Tustarī and his followers. They also supply the background for some abstract definitions or condensed aphorisms of Tustarī's mystical thought. The aphorisms quoted on Tustarī's authority in the *Risālah* emphasize *wara'* (abstemiousness), *tawakkul* (trust in God), *dīker* (recollection of God) and *yaqīn* (certitude).<sup>123</sup>

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b 'Uṭmān b 'Alī Al-Ġaznawī Al-Ġullābī Al-Huġwīrī (d. 465/1073 or 469/1077),<sup>124</sup> a Persian Šūfī of Ḥanafī creed, was a native of Ġaznah. He visited many centers of the Asian parts of the then Muslim

<sup>120</sup> Quṣairī, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm, *Risālah fī 'ilm at-taṣawwuf* (*Ar-Risālat al-quṣairiyyah*), Cairo 1385/1966.

<sup>121</sup> R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḥusainī's Darstellung des Šūfismus*, Berlin 1914, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 287.

<sup>123</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, pp. 42; 70; 83–85; 259; 274; 278; 287; 288; 302; 332; 333; 334; 339; 351; 368; 370; 371; 372; 373; 387; 391; 392; 429; 430; 445; 446; 447; 449; 452; 469; 471; 474; 486; 523; 526; 531; 541; 546; 553; 561; 562; 576; 578; 585 (cf. 33); 599; 605; 615; 635; 649; 654; 655; 673; 674; 677; 679; 681; 682; 700; 703; 704.

<sup>124</sup> H. Massé, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, III, 546 (art. *Hudjwīrī*); it appears preferable to cite our author by his *nisbah* of Ġullābī rather than Huġwīrī.

world before he finally settled in Lahore where he died. Probably towards the end of his life, Ġullābī completed in Persian his *Kašf al-maḥğūb li-arbāb al-qulūb*.<sup>125</sup> The purpose of this systematic work on Šūfism is not “to put together a great number of sayings by different *šaiḥs*, but to discuss and expound the doctrines and practices of the Šūfis.”<sup>126</sup> Thus, biographical details are disregarded in the interest of a well-rounded systematic presentation of Šūfism. Ġullābī drew his materials mainly from oral traditions but was also influenced by Sarrāğ’s *Luma’* in the general plan of his work. Besides Sarrāğ’s *Luma’*, the works of Sulamī and Qušairī were known to Ġullābī, who often states his personal opinions and at times illustrates a point.

The *Kašf al-maḥğūb* seems to be the first extant source that recorded the Šūfis of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries according to so-called schools. One of the twelve schools enumerated by Ġullābī is the *Sahliyyah*, the followers of Sahl At-Tustarī.<sup>127</sup> After Ġunaid, Biṣṭāmī and Šiblī, Tustarī is one of the most frequently quoted Šūfī authorities in the *Kašf al-maḥğūb*.

The Tustarī models of the aforementioned Šūfī treatises, hagiographies and manuals exhibit distinct features of Tustarī’s mystical thought and practice. The essential features of these Tustarī models as well as the dominant features of the Tustarī tradition recorded in the extant works ascribed to Tustarī, especially the *Tafsīr*, circumscribe the basic Šūfī thought of Tustarī. Where these features converge, there emerges Tustarī’s authentic Šūfī thought.

The models, outlined in the preceding pages, were found to be isolated stones of a mosaic rather than a well-drawn picture. The Tustarī model of Sarrāğ’s *Luma’*, is marked by the emphasis on Tustarī as a spiritual master who guides a group of disciples in the principles and practices of the Šūfī way of life. Except for the theme of the “secret of the soul”, Tustarī’s aphorisms about Šūfī theory do not bring to the fore a dominant line of mystical thought. Kalābādī’s model, based on a small number of Tustarī’s sayings recorded in the *Ta’arruf*, stresses the idea of mystical knowledge as the fundamental achievement of the Šūfī. It also gives a few indications of Tustarī’s conception about trust in God.

<sup>125</sup> Ġullābī, Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Uṭmān, *Kašf al-maḥğūb li-arbāb al-qulūb* (ed. V. A. Zhukovsky), Leningrad 1926; cf. pp. 175–177; 187; 190; 235; 244–265; 284; 298; 321; 330; 365; 368; 381; 390; 402; 410; 416; 417; 429; 439; 453; 454; 455; 474; abridged translation, R. A. Nicholson, *The Kašf al-maḥğūb*, Leiden/London 1911, cf. pp. 139–140; 148; 151; 189; 195–210; 225; 233; 249; 257; 283; 286; 296; 302; 311; 318; 322; 330; 338; 348; 349; 363.

<sup>126</sup> Nicholson, *The Kašf al-maḥğūb*, introduction, p. XX.

<sup>127</sup> Ġullābī, *Kašf al-maḥğūb*, 244–265; tr. Nicholson, 195–210.

Because of the strong influence of the Tustarī tradition on the *Qūt al-qulūb* of Makkī, the last author to stand in direct contact with Tustarī's group of disciples, his Tustarī model is a massive documentation of Tustarī's doctrine about the "stages of certainty", the conditions of the Şūfī on his way to God. It also preserves substantial passages concerning Tustarī's theological conceptions about faith and God's creative will. The fairly esoteric work *ʿIlm al-qulūb*, on the other hand, reflects Tustarī's mystical conception of the world of pre-existence and stresses the idea of Şūfī knowledge.

Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, besides scanty biographical information concerning Tustarī, supplies a choice of aphorisms that are drawn from various sources, and form a Tustarī model that is as sober and disciplined as it is well-balanced. Dailamī records just one line of Tustarī's mystical thought, the idea of Muḥammad's light-nature. The model of Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* is composed of different currents of transmission of the Tustarī tradition. It juxtaposes various themes of Tustarī's thought without regard for a sustained train of thought. But in this considerable diversification lies its value as a collection of the Tustarī tradition as it had developed by the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

The aphorisms and anecdotes quoted from Tustarī in Quṣairī's *Risālah* emphasize trust in God and recollection of God as specific and typical conditions of Tustarī's Şūfī way of life. Tustarī's mystical idea of unification is described as the ultimate realization of Şūfī faith. The discussion of Şūfī issues by Ğullābī in his *Kaṣf al-mahğūb* squeezes key sayings of Tustarī into a controversial frame, in which Tustarī's position is contrasted with that of other Şūfī masters. As a result, Ğullābī's Tustarī model is heavily tinged by a layer of his own views superimposed on Tustarī's sayings.

These Şūfī treatises, hagiographies and manuals project views of Tustarī which are as fragmentary and disjointed as they are selective and subjective. They include scattered samples of Tustarī's mystical thought and practice, and employ them as proof texts and illustrations, subordinate to the goal and structure of a particular work. The specific value of these Şūfī primary sources as source material for Tustarī's thought lies in two aspects: (1) they largely offer mutually independent checkpoints for the authenticity of ideas ascribed to Tustarī, and (2) they frequently serve as indicators of incisive points characteristic of Tustarī's mystical thought. Although no uniform and coherent system of Tustarī's thought can be gathered from these Şūfī primary sources, their Tustarī models represent authentic Şūfī themes of Tustarī. These themes function as screens which, if imposed on Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and on the materials included in ms. Köpr 727, point out certain crucial crossroads within Tustarī's range of ideas.

### 3. The Tustarī Tradition in Sources Later than 465/1074

The Tustarī tradition after 465/1074, written in both Arabic and Persian, is scattered throughout a great variety of Šūfī sources and may be divided into two sections: the sources from Anšārī (d. 481/1089) and Ġazzālī (d. 505/1111) to Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar As-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) and Ibn Al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240), and the sources which are later than the middle of the 7th/13th century.

The sources of the period from 465/1074 to 638/1240 include much material that has been copied from earlier extant sources. They also preserve some additional information with respect to the Tustarī tradition which they culled from sources that are either still unpublished or lost altogether. These sources thus confirm and supplement the Tustarī tradition that was handed down during the roughly 150 years after Tustarī's death. They frequently quote Tustarī's aphorisms as proof texts of their own opinions and illustrate their views by anecdotal accounts that are attributed to Tustarī. Sometimes, however, they appear to draw inspiration from certain specimens of Tustarī's thought and practice. The few biographical notes about Tustarī and his followers included in some of these sources contribute little precise historical data to the scanty evidence of the sources of Islamic historiography. The quotations from the Tustarī tradition in the works of Ġazzālī and Ibn Al-'Arabī, the great religious and intellectual syntheses of Islam, give witness to the high esteem with which the Tustarī tradition was regarded by the proponents of religious culture in Islam. But generally speaking, the Tustarī tradition transmitted by the Šūfī sources in the period from 465/1074 to 638/1240 has to be considered as minor, if it is compared with the Tustarī tradition prior to 465/1074.

Abū Ismā'il 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad b 'Alī Al-Anšārī (d. 481/1089),<sup>128</sup> a Ḥanbalī Šūfī of Herāt, wrote the first extant Persian *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah*, probably around the year 475/1083.<sup>129</sup> Anšārī's *Ṭabaqāt* is heavily dependent on Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt* of which it is "an enlarged Persian version".<sup>130</sup> It was compiled from lecture notes taken down by a disciple of Anšārī during the master's instruction which probably followed Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt* as a textbook. The chapter on Tustarī adds little to the information embodied in the earlier sources. The value of Anšārī's *Ṭabaqāt* for the Tustarī tradition lies in the implicit demonstration that by the end of the 5th/11th century,

<sup>128</sup> S. L. de Beaurecueil, *EP*, I, 515 (art. Anšārī); *Khawādja 'Abd Allāh Anšārī*, Beyrouth 1965.

<sup>129</sup> Anšārī, Abū Ismā'il 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* (ed. 'Abd Al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Qābul 1341/1961).

<sup>130</sup> W. Ivanow, *Ṭabaqāt of Anšārī in the Old Language of Herat*, JRAS 1923, pp. 1–34.



roughly two hundred years after Tustarī's death, there had emerged a standardized Tustarī model in the Šūfī sources.

Rašīd Ad-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Sa'īd Al-Maibudī (d. 530/1135)<sup>131</sup> wrote his prolific Persian commentary on the Qur'ān in 520/1126, and entitled it *Kašf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār*.<sup>132</sup> The work is also known as the *Tafsīr* of Pīr-i Herāt, Ḥwāḡā 'Abd Allāh Al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1089). This is inaccurate since Anṣārī's *Tafsīr* at best constitutes Maibudī's major source, which the latter substantially amplified. Maibudī's *Kašf al-asrār* is marked by a systematic structure which follows the division of the Qur'ān into thirty parts (*ḡuz*) or sessions (*maḡlis*). Each part is taken up in order and commented upon in three different sections (*naubat*). The first section gives a literal explanation by paraphrasing the Arabic text of the Qur'ān in the Persian language. The second section, called *Tafsīr*, lists the ways of recital, the causes of revelation, the legal implications and the aspects of meaning of a given Qur'ānic passage. It also mentions traditions and anecdotes connected with it. The third section includes, in Maibudī's own words, "the allegories of the gnostics, the allusions of the Šūfis and the subtleties of the preachers (*rumūz-i 'arīfān wa-iṣārāt-i ṣūfiyān wa-laṭā'if-i mudakkirān*)".<sup>133</sup> Tustarī is mentioned as the author of about two dozen quotations in the *Kašf al-asrār*.<sup>134</sup> Although some of his statements are quoted in the second section, the majority of them belong to Maibudī's third section. Most of these quotations can be traced to Sarrāḡ's *Luma'*, to Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*, and to Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*. They thus do not presuppose a direct perusal of Tustarī's own works on the part of Maibudī. The *Kašf al-asrār* also does not include a single direct quotation from Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b Muḥammad Aṭ-Ṭūsī Al-Ġazzālī (d. 505/1111) completed his monumental work, *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, in the decade from 490/1097 to 499/1105. This work cites about sixty well-chosen sayings of Tustarī.<sup>135</sup> Most of them are taken from Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*

<sup>131</sup> H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, p. 22; H. Ritter, *OLZ* 31 (1928), pp. 1123 f.

<sup>132</sup> Maibudī, Abū'l-Faḍl Sa'īd, *Kašf al-asrār wa-'uddat al-abrār*, 10 vols., Tehrān 1331 s.

<sup>133</sup> Maibudī, *Kašf al-asrār*, I, 1.

<sup>134</sup> Maibudī, *Kašf al-asrār*, I, 108, 160 f., 197, 389, 532; II, 727; III, 483, 750 f.; IV, 243, 305; V, 525 f., 611, 758; VI, 229, 356, 441; VII, 233; X, 160.

<sup>135</sup> Ḡazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad, *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1358/1939

vol. I, p. 42 (Ibn Sālim); 67; 77; 81; 84; 87; 105 f.;

vol. II, p. 34 (Ibn Sālim); 92; 170; 223; 240; 242; 267 (Ibn Sālim); 300;

vol. III, p. 4; 10; 52; 69; 72; 73; 80 f.; 84 (Ibn Sālim); 85; 86; 87; 92; 94;

vol. IV, p. 4; 48; 68; 96; 125; 155; 159; 168 f.; 169; 175; 197; 220; 233; 234; 252; 269; 322; 323; 329; 337; 346; 349 f.; 357; 369; 375.

while at least one substantial passage is copied from Quṣairī's *Risālah*. Ġazzālī's selections from Tustarī's doctrine on mystical knowledge and his summary of Tustarī's view on hunger and fasting represent significant aspects of the Tustarī tradition. Tustarī is also cited in the Arabic works of 'Ain al-Qudāt Al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1131), once in the *Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq* and three times in the *Šakwā al-ġarīb*. The *Tamhīdāt*, the major Persian work of Hamadānī on the other hand, quotes a few unique and esoteric aphorisms of Tustarī.<sup>136</sup>

Ibn Barraġān (d. 536/1141), an Andalusian mystic, is stated by Massignon as being indebted to the "Sālimī theses," the monistic formulations of doctrine held by a group of Tustarī's disciples.<sup>137</sup> However, we have been unable to find a single reference to Tustarī in the second part of the commentary on the Qur'ān by Ibn Barraġān, which is extant in manuscript and entitled *Tanbīh al-afḥām* (cf. ms. *Aumer* 83, Staatsbibl., Munich). Abu'l-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā Al-Qāḍī Al-Yaḥṣubī Al-Andalusī (d. 544/1149), however, quotes some statements of Tustarī in his *Aṣ-Šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣtafā*.<sup>138</sup> Most of these quotations represent fragments of commentary on Qur'ānic verses.

Ibn Ḥamīs Al-Mauṣilī (d. 522/1157) wrote the *Manāqib al-abrār wa-maḥāsīn al-abyār* in imitation of Quṣairī's *Risālah*.<sup>139</sup> In fact, the chapter on Tustarī in this work is to be understood as an extract from both Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt* and Quṣairī's *Risālah* (cf. ms. *Br. Mus. Add.* 23, 367, ff. 50a–55b).

Abu'l-Faraġ 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b 'Alī b Muḥammad Al-Ġauzī (d. 597/1200), was a Ḥanbalī author of Baġdād, prolific in almost all branches of religious learning. His historical work, *Al-Muntaẓam*, includes a short passage on Tustarī, while his hagiographical collection, *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwāh*,<sup>140</sup> lists a series of Tustarī's sayings, some of which are quoted from the *Hilyat al-auliya'*. In his Ḥanbalī polemics against Šūfī eccentricities, entitled *Talbīs Iblīs*, Ibn Al-Ġauzī attacks Sarrāġ, Makkī, Abū Nu'aim and Quṣairī,

<sup>136</sup> Hamadānī, 'Ain Al-Qudāt Abu'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, *Zubdat al-ḥaqā'iq* (ed. A. Osseirān), Tehrān 1962; p. 94; *Šakwā al-ġarīb* (ed. A. Osseirān), Tehrān 1962, pp. 22; 24; 39; *Tamhīdāt* (ed. A. Osseirān), Tehrān 1962, pp. 83; 147; 248; 250; 267.

<sup>137</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 500.

<sup>138</sup> 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, Abu'l-Faḍl Al-Qāḍī Al-Yaḥṣubī Al-Andalusī, *Aṣ-Šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣtafā*, 2 vols., Damascus 1392; Cf. I, 58f.; 60; 69; 78; 92; 93; 96; 191; II, 18; 22; 34; 45; 81; 125; 231; cf. T. Andrae, *Die Person Muḥammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, p. 64.

<sup>139</sup> Mauṣilī, Ibn Ḥamīs, ms. *Br. Mus. Add.* 23, 367; cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 434; *SI*, 776.

<sup>140</sup> Ibn Al-Ġauzī, Abu'l-Faraġ 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān, *Al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīḥ al-mulūk wa'l-umam* (ed. F. Krenkow) 6 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1357/1938–1359/1940; cf. V, 163; *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwāh*, 4 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1355/1936–1356/1937; cf. IV, 46–48.

and criticizes some of their references to Tustarī.<sup>141</sup> In 566/1171 Ibn Al-Ğauzī completed his *Damm al-hawā* in which he records a few sayings of Tustarī that are supported by complete chains of transmitters.<sup>142</sup>

Muḥammad b Munawwar b Abī Saʿīd b Ṭāhīr b Abī Saʿīd b Abī'l-Ḥair's (d. 600/1203) Persian Šūfī treatise, *Asrār at-tauḥīd*, on the life and teachings of Abū Saʿīd b Abī'l-Ḥair (d. 440/1049) includes two references to Tustarī.<sup>143</sup>

Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr Al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209), a Persian Sunnī mystic of Šīrāz, wrote three works important as sources for the Tustarī tradition. *Šarḥ-i šaṭḥiyāt*,<sup>144</sup> written in 570/1174 as a largely amplified Persian version of his Arabic work *Manṭiq al-asrār*, is a collection and commentary on the ecstatic utterances mainly of Ḥallāğ but also of other 2nd/8th–4th/10th century Šūfis, among them Tustarī. Because of the nature of the book, the sections on Tustarī (nr. 120–123) share in the audacious character of ecstatic aphorisms, as commented upon by a 6th/12th century Persian Šūfī.<sup>145</sup> In 579/1184 Baqlī wrote the *Mašrab al-arwāḥ* and included in it several sayings of Tustarī.<sup>146</sup> His *'Arā'is al-bayān*,<sup>147</sup> is a Šūfī commentary on selected passages of the Qur'ān. It includes Baqlī's own mystical interpretation placed alongside substantial sections copied from Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* and, to a lesser extent, from Quṣairī's commentary on the Qur'ān. Baqlī may have had direct access to Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, of which he quotes passages absent from the

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Al-Ğauzī, Abu'l-Farağ 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān, *Talbīs Iblīs (Naqd al-'ilm wa'l-'ulamā')*, Cairo 1369/1950; cf. pp. 162; 204f.; 369f.; cf. tr. D. S. Margoliouth, "The Devil's Delusion", *Islamic Culture*, IX (1955)–XXII (1948).

<sup>142</sup> Ibn Al-Ğauzī, Abu'l-Farağ 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān, *Damm al-hawā*, Cairo 1381/1962, pp. 48; 77; 78; 184.

<sup>143</sup> Ibn al-Munawwar, Muḥammad b Abī Saʿīd, *Asrār at-tauḥīd*, Tehrān 1332s; cf. pp. 217; 260.

<sup>144</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr, *Šarḥ-i šaṭḥiyāt* (ed. H. Corbin), Tehran/Paris 1966; *Kitāb-i 'abhar al-'āšiqin* (ed. H. Corbin/M. Moin), Tehran/Paris 1958; cf. W. Ivanow, *A Biography of Rūzbihān Al-Baqlī*, Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 24 (1928), pp. 353–61; *More on the Biography of Rūzbihān Al-Baqlī*, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 7 (1931), pp. 1–7; L. Massignon *La vie et les œuvres de Rūzbehān Baqlī*, in: *Studia Orientalia Pedersen* 1953, pp. 236–49; *Opera Minora*, II, 451–65; H. Ritter, *Philologika VII*, Der Islam 21 (1933), pp. 451–65; H. Ritter, *Philologika VII*, Der Islam 21 (1933), pp. 100–04; H. Corbin, *Quiétude et inquiétude de l'âme dans le soufisme de Rūzbehān Baqlī de Šīrāz*, *Erano's Jahrbuch* 27 (1959), pp. 51–194.

<sup>145</sup> Baqlī, *Šarḥ-i šaṭḥiyāt*, 206–213; 38.

<sup>146</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr, *Mašrab al-arwāḥ*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 25; 56; 68; 78; 79; 177; 312.

<sup>147</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr, *'Arā'is al-bayān fi ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols., Cawnpore 1301/1884; for a complete list of references to Tustarī cf. Chapter III.

manuscripts of Sulamī's *Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr*. The relationship of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* to the Qur'ānic commentaries of Sulamī and Baqlī will be discussed in Chapter III.

Farīd Ad-Dīn Muḥammad b Ibrāhīm 'Aṭṭār (d. 627/1230), a Persian mystical poet and prolific writer, compiled the *Tadkirat al-auliya'* probably late in his life.<sup>148</sup> Although the work appears to be modeled on the *Ṭabaqāt* of Sulamī and Anṣārī, 'Aṭṭār draws his materials for the chapter on Tustarī from Quṣairī's *Risālah* and Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*. He also records some anecdotes about Tustarī and includes occasional references to him in various places of his hagiography.

Šihāb Ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar As-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), a Šūfī of Bāgdād, held the office of *šaiḥ aš-šuyūḥ* in the caliphate of An-Nāṣir (d. 623/1225). To this caliph he dedicated his famous Šūfī treatise *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, in which Tustarī is mentioned quite frequently.<sup>149</sup> The Tustarī tradition that is incorporated into the *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāyah* of 'Izz Ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b 'Alī Al-Kāšānī (d. 735/1335) is largely based on Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, but also draws a few references from other source materials.<sup>150</sup>

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b 'Alī Muḥyī Ad-Dīn Ibn Al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) quotes statements of Tustarī in his monumental work, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah* and cites a few sayings of Tustarī in his *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, while his *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār* includes two anecdotes concerned with Tustarī.<sup>151</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī develops Tustarī's theme of "the secret of lordship (*sirr ar-rubūbiyyah*)"<sup>152</sup> and reveals Tustarī's quandary about "the prostration of the heart (*suḡūd al-qalb*)".<sup>153</sup> In citing crucial notions of

<sup>148</sup> 'Aṭṭār, Farīd Ad-Dīn Muḥammad b Ibrāhīm, *Tadkirat al-auliya'* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), 2 vols., London/Leiden 1905–07; cf. I, 108; 169; 251–268; II, 6; 12; 132; 136; 182; partial translation, A. J. Arberry, *Muslims Saints and Mystics*, London 1966; cf. pp. 153–160.

<sup>149</sup> Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Cairo 1358/1939 pp. 15; 23; 28; 40; 43; 111; 116; 118; 130; 140; 159; 160; 162; 169; 179; 200; 210; 215; 226; 232; 252; 274; 275; 284; 320; 321; 327; 334; 337; 338; 340; 341; 343; 345; 346; 347; 348; 358; 359; 371; 373; 375.

<sup>150</sup> Kāšānī, 'Izz Ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b 'Alī, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāyah wa-miftāḥ al-kifāyah*, Tehrān 1365/1946, pp. 5; 63; 68; 70; 71; 82; 84; 121; 167; 168; 192; 256; 357; 367; 373; 377; 380; 381; 390; 393; 401; 409; 420.

<sup>151</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, Muḥyī Ad-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, 4 vols., Cairo 1329/1911; cf. I, 76; 119; 151; 213; II, 20; 93; 102; 318; 479; 543; 551; III, 77; 86; 395; IV, 249; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (ed. A. A. 'Affif), Beyrouth 1356/1946, pp. 85; 90f.; *Muḥāḍarāt al-abrār wa-musāmarāt al-abyar*, 2 vols., Beyrouth 1388/1968, II, 33f.

<sup>152</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, II, 93; 479; 543; 551.

<sup>153</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, I, 76; II, 20; 102; III, 86.

Tustarī's view concerning the realm of pre-existence, Ibn Al-'Arabī preserves some specimens of Tustarī's esoteric vocabulary, as for example *habā* (the primordial matter), *barzah* (the praeval isthmus), 'adl (the primal man) and *ma'rifah* (the divine gnosis).<sup>154</sup> It appears that Ibn Al-'Arabī may have derived these notions of Tustarī from the works of the Spanish mystics Ibn Barraġān (d. 536/1141) and Ibn Al-'Arīf (d. 536/1141) as well as from the Šūfī legacy of Abū Madyan (d. 594/1197).<sup>155</sup>

The Tustarī tradition included in the Šūfī primary sources, which are later than the middle of the 7th/13th century, is mainly copied from earlier sources and thus demonstrates little originality. Except for certain isolated passages in the works of Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367), Ġāmī (d. 898/1492), Ša'rānī (d. 973/1565) and Munāwī (d. 1032/1622), nothing new can be culled from these sources with regard to the Tustarī tradition.

The two dozen statements concerning Tustarī that are quoted in the *Aurād al-aḥbāb* of Abū'l-Mafāḥir Yaḥyā Al-Bāḥarzi (d. 724/1324) represent mainly Persian renditions of extracts from Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* and Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-ma'arīf*.<sup>156</sup>

'Afif Ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b As'ad b 'Alī Al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367) was a native of Yaman who lived most of his life in Ḥiğāz. His historical work *Mir'āt al-ġanān*<sup>157</sup> includes a biographical account of Tustarī based on Quṣairī's *Risālah* and mentions an anecdote already quoted in the *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*. Yāfi'ī's *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn* and his *Naṣr al-maḥāsīn* come up with a few sayings and anecdotes ascribed to Tustarī which cannot be gathered from earlier sources.<sup>158</sup>

The *Ṭabaqāt al-auliya'* of Ibn Al-Mulaqqin Sirāġ Ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b 'Alī Al-Miṣrī (d. 804/1401) combines a short account of Tustarī's biography with some specimens of his doctrine.<sup>159</sup> One curious anecdote, cited by Ibn Al-Mulaqqin, records Tustarī's part in the conversion of a Zoroastrian to the Muslim faith.

Nūr Ad-Dīn 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Al-Ġāmī (d. 898/1492), the Persian mystical poet of Herāt, completed his collection of Šūfī biographies,

<sup>154</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, I, 119; II, 318; III, 77; 395.

<sup>155</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, II, 318; III, 77.

<sup>156</sup> Bāḥarzi, Abū'l-Mafāḥir Yaḥyā, *Aurād al-aḥbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, Tehrān 1345 s = 1386/1966, pp. 9; 26; 49; 62; 93; 140; 183; 235; 315; 323; 324; 326; 330; 331; 336; 344; 345.

<sup>157</sup> Yāfi'ī, 'Afif Ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b As'ad, *Mir'āt al-ġanān*, 4 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1334/1916–1339/1921, cf. II, 200f.

<sup>158</sup> Yāfi'ī, 'Afif ad-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b As'ad, *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn*, Cairo 1374/1955, pp. 113f.; 211; 217–220; 399; *Naṣr al-maḥāsīn*, Cairo 1381/1961.

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Al-Mulaqqin, Sirāġ Ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b 'Alī Al-Miṣrī, *Ṭabaqāt al-auliya'*, Cairo 1393/1973, pp. 232–236.

entitled *Nafahāt al-uns*, in 881/1476.<sup>160</sup> He modeled it on Anṣārī's *Ṭabaqāt*, quoted among others materials of 'Aṭṭār's *Tadkīrat al-auliya'*, and prefixed an introductory essay on Ṣūfism to his work. As to the Tustarī tradition, however, the *Nafahāt al-uns* has almost nothing new to add.

'Abd Al-Wahhāb Aṣ-Ṣa'rānī (d. 973/1565), a well-known Ṣūfī author of Cairo, belonged to the Ṣādili affiliation, in which a number of "Sālīmī theses have been traditionally preserved".<sup>161</sup> Ṣa'rānī includes a chapter on Tustarī in his *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* and quotes some of Tustarī's statements in his *Al-Anwār al-qudsiyyah*.<sup>162</sup>

Nūr Allāh Aṣ-Ṣuštārī (d. 1019/1610) cites a biographical account of Tustarī and stresses Tustarī's association with his teacher Muḥammad b Sawwār.<sup>163</sup> 'Abd Ar-Ra'ūf Al-Munāwī (d. 1032/1622) includes a few pages on Tustarī in his *Al-Kawākib ad-durriyyah*<sup>164</sup> and quotes Ḡazzālī and Ibn Al-'Arabī among his sources. Dārā Šikūh's (d. 1069/1659) *Safīnat al-auliya'*, a Persian hagiography written in 1050/1640, includes a short chapter on Suhail (sic!) b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī, which considers Tustarī as a Ḥanafī Ṣūfī.<sup>165</sup> Ḡulām Sarwar Lahaurī's account of Tustarī in his *Ḥazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*<sup>166</sup> heavily relies on Dārā Šikūh.

'Abd Al-Ḥayy Ibn Al-'Imād (d. 1089/1679) completed his biographical history *Šadarāt ad-dahab fī aḥbār man dahab* in 1080/1670. His section on Tustarī is based on Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt*, Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* and Ibn Al-'Arabī's *Balīḡat al-ḡawwās*.<sup>167</sup> The *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq* by Ma'šūm 'Alī Šāh (d. 1212/1797) records a variety of references concerning Tustarī that are drawn from Ḡazzālī's *Iḥyā' ulūm ad-dīn*, Ibn Al-'Arabī's *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, Ḡāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns* and Ṣuštārī's *Maḡālis al-mu'minīn*.<sup>168</sup> The passage on Tustarī in Muṣṭafā Al-'Arūsī's (d. 1293/1876)

<sup>160</sup> Ḡāmī, Nūr Ad-Dīn 'Abd Ar-Rahmān, *Nafahāt al-uns min ḥaqarāt al-quds* (ed. M. Tauḥīdipūr), Tehrān 1337 s = 1378/1958, pp. 66–68; F. Meier, "Zur Biographie Aḥmad-i Ḡām's und zur Quellenkunde von Ḡāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns*", *ZDMG* 97 (1943), pp. 47–67; W. Ivanow, "The Sources of Ḡāmī's *Nafahāt*", *JASB* 1932, p. 397.

<sup>161</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 500.

<sup>162</sup> Ṣa'rānī, 'Abd A-Wahhāb, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā. Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-aḥyār*, 2 vols. (*Al-Anwār al-qudsiyyah* in the margin), Cairo 1315/1897, cf. I, 66–68.

<sup>163</sup> Nūr Allāh Aṣ-Ṣuštārī, *Maḡālis al-mu'minīn*, 2 vols., Tehrān 1375/1956–1376/1957, cf. II, 32–35.

<sup>164</sup> Munāwī, 'Abd Ar-Ra'ūf, *Al-Kawākib ad-durriyyah fī tarāḡim as-sādat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 2 vols., Cairo 1357/1938; cf. I, 237–243.

<sup>165</sup> Dārā Šikūh, *Safīnat al-auliya'* (tr. Urdu) Karachī 1959, pp. 174 f.

<sup>166</sup> Ḡulām Sarwar Lahaurī, *Ḥazīnat al-aṣfiyā'*, 2 vols., Lucknow 1290/1873; cf. II, 162–164.

<sup>167</sup> Ibn Al-'Imād 'Abd-Ḥayy, *Šadarāt ad-dahab fī aḥbār man dahab*, 8 vols., Cairo 1350/1931–1351/1932; cf. II, 182–184.

<sup>168</sup> Ma'šūm 'Alī Šāh, *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, 3 vols., Tehrān 1339 s = 1380/1960–1345 s = 1386/

*Natā'ig al-afkār al-qudsiyyah*<sup>169</sup> quotes Ġazzālī and Ibn Al-'Arabī among its sources. The account on Tustarī in Muḥammad Bāqir b Amīr Al-Ḥwānsārī's (d. 1313/1895) *Rauḍat al-ġannāt*<sup>170</sup> is based on Quṣairī's *Risālah*. Nabhānī (d. 1350/1932) relies chiefly on Yāfī'ī in the passage on Tustarī recorded in his *Ġāmi' karāmāt al-auliya'*.<sup>171</sup>

The Muslim historians, biographers and geographers are usually very brief in their records concerning Tustarī. Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167) mentions Tustarī in the *Kitāb al-ansāb* under the *nisbah* Tustar.<sup>172</sup> Yāqūt (d. 624/1229) has only a short comment on Tustarī in his *Mu'ḡam al-buldān*,<sup>173</sup> whereas Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) devotes almost a page of his *Āṭār al-bilād* to Tustarī.<sup>174</sup> Ibn Al-Aṭīr (d. 630/1233) records obituary notes on Tustarī and some of his disciples in the *Al-Kāmil fi't-ta'riḥ*.<sup>175</sup>

The biographical sketch on Tustarī in the *Wafayāt al-a'yān* of Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681/1282) is based completely on Quṣairī's *Risālah*, and adds an episodic encounter between Tustarī and Abū Dā'ūd As-Siġistānī (d. 275/889).<sup>176</sup> Ḍahabī (d. 748/1348) refers to Tustarī in an obituary note of his *Ibar*.<sup>177</sup> Ibn Al-Kaṭīr's (d. 775/1374) note on Tustarī in *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-nihāyah*<sup>178</sup> resembles Ibn Al-Ġauzī's short passage in *Muntaẓam*. In the *Riḥlah*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 779/1377) mentions Tustarī's cell and tomb.<sup>179</sup> Finally, Ibn Taġrī Birdī (d. 874/1469) includes an obituary note on Tustarī in his *An-Nuġūm az-zāhirah*.<sup>180</sup>

1966, cf. I, 33; 155; 167; 288; 290; 509; II, 162; 180; 186; 355; 369; 401; 402; 405; 406; 425; 450; 477; 479; 488; 492; 498; 506; 619.

<sup>169</sup> 'Arūsī, Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, *Natā'ig al-afkār al-qudsiyyah*, 4 vols., Būlāq 1290/1873, cf. I, 109ff.; in the margin Zakariyā' Al-Anṣārī's (d. 916/1511) *Šarḥ ar-risālat al-quṣairiyyah*.

<sup>170</sup> Ḥwānsārī, Muḥammad Bāqir b Amīr, *Rauḍat al-ġannāt*, Tehrān 1304–06, cf. p. 324f.

<sup>171</sup> Nabhānī, Yūsuf b Ismā'il, *Ġāmi' karāmāt al-auliya'*, 2 vols., Cairo 1381/1962, cf. II, 110–112.

<sup>172</sup> Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, f. 106b.

<sup>173</sup> Yāqūt, Šihāb Ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt b 'Abd Allāh Al-Hamawī Ar-Rūmī, *Mu'ḡam al-buldān* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld), 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–70, I, 850; II, 148; IV, 837.

<sup>174</sup> Qazwīnī, Zakariyā' b Muḥammad b Maḥmūd, *Kitāb āṭār al-bilād* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld: El-Cazwīnī's Kosmographie, Zweiter Theil), Göttingen 1848, pp. 114f.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn Al-Aṭīr, 'Izz Ad-Dīn 'Alī, *Al-Kāmil fi't-ta'riḥ*, 13 vols., Cairo 1348/1929–1387/1967, cf. VII, 483; VIII, 59; 582.

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, II, 149f.; tr. de Slane, I, 602f.

<sup>177</sup> Ḍahabī, Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Al-Ibar fi ḥabar man ḡabar*, 5 vols., Kuwait, 1960–66; cf. II, 70.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn Al-Kaṭīr, Ismā'il b 'Umar, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-nihāyah*, 14 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1358/1939, cf. XI, 74.

<sup>179</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Cambridge 1958, cf. II, 279; 281.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Taġrī Birdī, Ġamāl Ad-Dīn Abū'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf, *An-Nuġūm az-zāhirah*, 12 vols., Cairo 1348/1929–1375/1956; cf. III, 95; 98.

## Chapter II

### Tustarī: His Life, his Masters and his Disciples

The career of Tustarī has been eclipsed by the prominent position that Western scholarship has assigned to one of his pupils.<sup>1</sup> Our biographical inquiry intends to dispel the shadow that has been cast upon the master by his disciple. Tustarī, a native of Tustar in the Persian province of Ḥūzistān, who died at Baṣrah, the Arab metropolis of Lower 'Irāq, lived in a region where for centuries the Iranian civilization of Susiana had bordered on the cultural traditions of Southern Mesopotamia. His own life-span arches these two areas at a time when, in the 3rd/9th century, the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate absorbed the Iranian and Hellenistic traditions under its domain, moulding them into the Arabic matrix of the nascent civilization of Islām.

The primary sources for Tustarī's biography are scanty and fragmentary, the secondary sources unsatisfactory. In fact, it is no easy matter to unravel the career of this man from a medley of aphorisms and anecdotes that are scattered throughout the hagiographical literature of Ṣūfism. Although little hardcore evidence of historical importance can be gathered from this kind of source material, we can trace the essential course of Tustarī's life through four distinct periods.

*Years of formation:* During the time of his youth, that is from his birth in about 203/818 until a short time after his pilgrimage to Makkah in 219/834, Tustarī receives the basic education and spiritual direction from his teacher Muḥammad b Sawwār, his instructor Ḥamzah Al-'Abbādānī and his mystical forebear Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī. *Years of seclusion:* Tustarī appears to lead the life of an inconspicuous ascetic in his hometown who, after a period of some twenty odd years of spiritual training, achieves the intellectual maturity to emerge with a teaching of his own about the time of Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī's death in 245/860. *Years of teaching at Tustar:* During this period from about 245/860 until 262/876 Tustarī gathers a group of disciples around himself. He becomes notorious for his doctrines during the Zang rule over the city and is summoned to the Ṣaffārid camp

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<sup>1</sup> L. Massignon, *La Passion de Ḥusayn Ibn Manṣūr Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922.



in 262/876 or the following year. *Years of teaching at Baṣrah*: Expelled from his hometown, Tustarī takes up residence in Baṣrah, probably late in the year 262/876 or early in 263/877. There, he becomes involved in religious controversy with the scholars of the city but consolidates a small circle of disciples until his death in 283/896.

### 1. Tustarī's years of formation and seclusion

The year of Tustarī's birth cannot be fixed with precision, but most of the sources converge on a date between 200/815 and 203/818. Massignon opts for 203/818, while Arberry places it in about 200/815.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān states that Tustarī was born at Tustar in 200/815 according to Ibn Al-Aṭīr, or in 201/816 according to other biographers.<sup>3</sup> Other authors simply count backwards from the date of death of the octogenarian, to arrive at the year 203/818 as the date of his birth. The sources do not present any information about his family except that he was married and had a son.<sup>4</sup>

There is no direct reference in the sources whether Tustarī was of Arab or Persian descent. The Arabic appearance of his name and the Arabic wording of his sayings do not necessarily indicate Arab ancestry. For the Arabic form of the genealogy and the Arabic language of instruction also symbolize social standing and cultural learning among the *mawālī* (non-Arab Muslims affiliated as clients with the Arab tribal structure) in the Islamic civilization of the 3rd/9th century. Tustarī might well have been a Persian "client" (*maulā*), since random references demonstrate that he had the habit of addressing people, friend and foe alike, with the Persian words *yā dūst*, "O friend".<sup>5</sup> The usage of the Persian language in intimate reference and the persistence of this Persian phrase in classical Arabic texts may suggest that Tustarī spoke Persian as his native tongue, though, on

<sup>2</sup> L. Massignon, *SEI*, 488 (art. *Sahl At-Tustarī*); A. J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, London 1966, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, Aḥmad b Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' az-zamān*, Cairo 1367/1948, 6 vols., cf. II, 150; tr. MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1842–71, cf. I, 603; Ibn Al-Aṭīr, 'Izz Ad-Dīn 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Al-Kāmil fī at-ta'rīḥ* (13 vols.), Cairo 1348/1929–1387/1967, VIII, 582.

<sup>4</sup> Ḡullābī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b 'Uṣmān Al-Huḡwīrī, *Kaṣf al-maḥḡūb* (ed. V. A. Zhukovsky), Tehran 1336 s., p. 474; tr. R. A. Nicholson, London 1936, p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 2b; Sarrāḡ, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī, *Al-Luma' fī t-taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), Leiden 1914, p. 326; glossary p. 137; Makkī, Abū Tālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932, III, 120; Ḡazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b Muḥammad, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, 4 vols., Cairo 1358/1939, IV, 337.

the other hand, the statement that Tustarī's maternal uncle was a *sayyid*<sup>6</sup> appears to indicate Arab ancestry on his mother's side and that Arabic was his mother tongue.

Tustarī grew up at Tustar (= Šuštār) and was deeply influenced by the example of his maternal uncle Muḥammad b Sawwār, whom the youth watched perform his nightly prayer vigils.<sup>7</sup> The sources cite two versions of the way in which Muḥammad b Sawwār introduced Tustarī to Šūfism: an earlier, original account of his initiation into the recollection of God (*dīkr*) and a later, ritual rendition of his investiture with the Šūfī garb (*muraqqa'*). Both versions portray Tustarī setting out on the Šūfī path as a precocious youth who does not experience the sudden impact of a spiritual conversion (*taubah*) that marks the beginnings of many early Šūfī lives.

Qušairī's Arabic account of Tustarī's repetition of a prayer formula that impresses God's presence upon the mind, represents a Šūfī precedent of mental prayer. A spiritual guide directs the Šūfī novice from the mentioning of God's name with the tongue (*lisān*) to His remembrance with the heart (*qalb*) and His recollection with the inmost being (*sirr*):

"One day my maternal uncle said to me, do you not remember (*taḍkuru*) God who created you? I replied, how shall I remember Him? He told me, when you change into your bedclothes, say three times in your heart (*qalb*) without moving your tongue (*lisān*): God is my witness (*Allāh šāhidī*). I did so for three days and then informed him that I had done so. He told me, say it seven times each night. I did so and informed him that I had done so. Then he told me, say it eleven times each night. I did so, and a sweetness came upon my heart (*qalb*) because of it. When a year had passed, my uncle told me, keep my instructions and continue that practice until you go to the grave. It will be to your benefit in this world and the world to come. For years I did not cease to practice this, and I experienced a sweetness in my inmost being (*sirr*) because of it. Thereupon, my uncle said to me one day, when God is with any man, sees him and witnesses him, how can he disobey God? God watch over you that you may not disobey."<sup>8</sup>

Anšārī's Persian rendition of Tustarī's Šūfī beginnings, a textually blurred passage, states that Tustarī received the Šūfī dress from an anonymous mystic in Baṣrah under Muḥammad b Sawwār's supervision:

"When Sahl was seven years old he put on the patched frock (*muraqqa'*). At the age of seven he did not sleep at night (i. e. keeping prayer vigils), speaking to himself and imploring his uncle, clothe me in the patched frock! There came a Šūfī master (*pīr*) to Baṣrah. To him the uncle said, clothe him in the patched frock though he does not have the proper age of

<sup>6</sup> Anšārī, Abū Ismā'il 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah* (ed. 'Abd Al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī), Qābul 1341/1961, p. 116 (100).

<sup>7</sup> Qušairī, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm b Hawāzin, *Ar-Risālah al-qušairiyyah*, Cairo 1385/1966, p. 83; Aḥṭār, Farīd Ad-Dīn, *Taḍkirat al-auliā'* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), 2 vols., London 1905–07, I, 252; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 154.

<sup>8</sup> Qušairī, *Risālah*, 83f.

petition (*waqt-i da'wā*). His present age is a tribulation for him. So the uncle (had) put on him the patched frock at the age of seven."<sup>9</sup>

Muḥammad b Sawwār surfaces in the sources as Tustarī's educator during his youth and as a traditionist on whose authority Tustarī transmits several traditions (*ḥadīṭ*). Nothing is known about Muḥammad b Sawwār's life, nor is he mentioned as an author in the works of Islamic bibliography. According to Anṣārī, Muḥammad b Sawwār was Tustarī's "teacher (*ustād*)" and belonged to "the ancient masters (*qadīmān-i mašāyih*)" of Baṣrah.<sup>10</sup> He can hardly be identified with the *qādī* of Baḡdād, Sawwār b 'Abd Allāh b Sawwār At-Tamīmī Al-'Anbarī Al-Baṣrī (d. 245/860), and with a certain Ibn Sawwār, who founded and endowed two libraries, one at Rāmḥurmūz in eastern Ḥūzistan and a larger one in Baṣrah where the Mu'tazilī doctrine was propounded.<sup>11</sup> Also, he does not appear to be identical with his Kūfan namesake Muḥammad b Sawwār b Rāšid Al-Azdī (d. 248/862) who lived and died in Egypt, since Ibn Haḡar distinguishes the latter from "Muḥammad b Sawwār, a Baṣran who is said to have been the maternal uncle of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī."<sup>12</sup>

Muḥammad b Sawwār is quoted in a transmitter chain (*isnād*) of the *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* by Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b Abī Dā'ūd As-Siḡistānī (d. 316/929).<sup>13</sup> In the *Tafsīr* that is ascribed to Tustarī, Muḥammad b Sawwār occurs nineteen times as a traditionist, yet never as Tustarī's teacher or educator. Through him Tustarī is indirectly linked in the transmitter chains with Sufyān At-Ṭaurī (d. 161/778), a celebrated scholar of law and theology; with Abū 'Amr b Al-'Alā' (d. 154/770), a philologist; with the ascetic Mālik b Dīnār (d. 131/748); and with the scholars of Ḥadīṭ, Ibn 'Uyainah (d. 196/811) and Ayyūb As-Saḥtiyānī (d. 131/749).<sup>14</sup> On chronological grounds one may however question the accuracy of the report that Muḥammad b Sawwār met Saḥtiyānī in Makkah on the occasion of his pilgrimage (*ḥaḡḡ*).<sup>15</sup> Nūr Allāh Aṣ-Šūstarī records that Muḥammad b

<sup>9</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 116 (100).

<sup>10</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 116 (100).

<sup>11</sup> C. Pellat, *Le Milieu Baṣrien et la formation de Ḡāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, p. 291; Muqaddasī, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī ma'rifa al-aqālīm* (ed. M. J. de Goeje), Leiden 1877, p. 413.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Haḡar, Abū'l-Faḡl Aḥmad b 'Alī Al-'Asqalānī, *Tahḏīb at-tahḏīb*, 12 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1325/1907–1327/1909, IX, 209; cf. Ṣafī Ad-Dīn Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Ḥazraḡī, *Ḥulāṣat taḏhib taḏhib al-kamāl*, 3 vols., Cairo s. d., II, 412.

<sup>13</sup> Siḡistānī, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b Abī Dā'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif* (ed. A. Jeffery), Leiden 1937, pp. 73; 179; 180; 183.

<sup>14</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, Cairo 1329/1911; cf. pp. 2, 5, 6 (twice), 7, 8, 11, 14, 21 (twice), 26 (twice), 43, 48, 65, 68, 94, 97, 116.

<sup>15</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 5f.

Sawwār (possibly a craftsman in metal work) was a native of Tustar who lived and died in that city and was the pupil (*tilmīd*) of Ma'rūf Al-Karḥī (d. 200/815).<sup>16</sup> Tustarī also cites the authority of Muḥammad b Sawwār for his praise of Ma'rūf Al-Karḥī as one of the significant masters (*mašāyih*) and spiritual forebears (*qudamā'*) of the Ṣūfis.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, Arberry's remark that Tustarī "studied with Sufyān Aṭ-Ṭaurī" confuses the latter with Muḥammad b Sawwār.<sup>18</sup>

Tustarī, at the age of six or seven, according to Quṣairī, was sent to a local Qur'ān school (*kuttāb*), where he began committing the Qur'ān to memory. He worked out a condition with the teacher that he would remain with him for an hour and learn some lessons, but then would return to prayer and fasting in seclusion. He would live on barley bread alone until he reached the age of twelve. "When I was thirteen years old, so Tustarī continues in Quṣairī's account, a problem (*mas'alah*) occurred to me. So I asked my family to send me to Baṣrah to unravel that problem. I came to Baṣrah and questioned the learned men ('*ulamā'*) of that city, but none of them gave me a lucid answer."<sup>19</sup> Since the scholars of Baṣrah were unable to satisfy young Tustarī's thirst for knowledge, he went on to the island of 'Abbādān in about 216/831.

'Abbādān, then situated on an island between the estuaries of the Tigris and the Duḡail (= Qārūn) River, was the site of a retreat (*ribāt*) which was founded by the disciples of Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) around 'Abd Al-Wāḥid b Zaid (d. 177/793) in the 2nd/8th century and was apparently destroyed by the Zang in 260/873.<sup>20</sup> Scholars like Muqātil b Sulaimān (d. 150/767), Ḥammād b Salamah (d. 167/784) and Wakī' b Al-Ḡarrāḥ (d. 197/812) as well as the Ṣūfis Abū Sulaimān Ad-Dārānī (d. 215/830), Biṣr Al-Ḥāfi (d. 227/841), Sarī As-Saqāṭī (d. 251/865) and 'Abd Ar-Raḥīm Al-Iṣṭaḥrī (d. ca. 300/912) are known to have spent a period of retreat at the *ribāt* of 'Abbādān.<sup>21</sup> Quṣairī has Tustarī give an autobiographical account about his visit to this retreat:

<sup>16</sup> Nūr Allāh Aṣ-Ṣūstārī, *Maḡālīs al-mu'minīn*, 2 vols., Tehrān 1375/1956–1376/1957, II, 32f.; Ma'sūm 'Alī Ṣāh, *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, 3 vols., Tehrān 1339s (1380/1960)–1345s (1386/1966), II, 369; 401.

<sup>17</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah* (ed. J. Pedersen), Leiden 1960, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 153.

<sup>19</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 84; cf. Gazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, III, 72.

<sup>20</sup> L. Lockhart, *EP*, I, 5 (art. 'Abbādān); L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968 (2nd ed.), p. 156f.; 234f.; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1958, II, 281.

<sup>21</sup> Massignon, *Essai*, 234; Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭariq al-murid ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932, III 63;

"(From Baṣrah) I proceeded to 'Abbādān, to a man called Abū Ḥabīb Ḥamzah b 'Abd Allāh Al-'Abbādānī. I questioned him about my problem and he gave me the answer (*aḡābanī*). I stayed with him for some time, derived much benefit from his teachings (*kalām*) and received a fine education through his ways of conduct (*ādāb*)."<sup>22</sup>

Tustarī's stay with Abū Ḥabīb Ḥamzah b 'Abd Allāh Al-'Abbādānī at 'Abbādān is mentioned by Quṣairī, Ġazzālī, 'Aṭṭār, Ibn Al-'Arabī, Munāwī and Yāfi'ī, who knows him under the name of Al-'Abbādī.<sup>23</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī appears to be the first to identify the nature of Tustarī's problem as that of "the prostration of the heart (*suḡūd al-qalb*)".<sup>24</sup> Munāwī's account is based on Ibn Al-'Arabī's authority:

"When, in the beginning upon entering the mystic path (*ṭarīq*), Sahl saw that his heart prostrated, he expected that it be raised up, but it was not raised and he was left at a loss. So he did not hesitate to ask the masters of the mystic path (*ṣuyūḥ at-ṭarīq*) about his experience (*wāqī'ah*), but did not find anyone who knew about it, although they were truthful people who spoke only about truly realized taste (*dauq muḥaqqaq*). He was told that in 'Abbādān there was a respected master who, if you journeyed to him, would help you find the answer. He did just that and asked him: O master, does the heart prostrate? He replied: forever. Thus he found his cure with him and stayed in his service."<sup>25</sup>

Whereas Ibn Al-'Arabī might have invented the nature of Tustarī's spiritual problem at the outset of his quest for knowledge, Quṣairī appears to model the story on the pattern that mysticism solves the problems that theology cannot answer. The historical core of the episode, in all probability, does not extend beyond Tustarī's stay with a master at 'Abbādān during a crucial phase of his formation. Besides the uncertain identification of Tustarī's problem, the story also remains obscure about the personality of Abū Ḥabīb Ḥamzah Al-'Abbādānī, a man only known in the sources as Tustarī's sometime teacher and master (*ṣaiḥ*).

But Tustarī might also have selected the vicinity of 'Abbādān as a retreat at later stages of his life. For Ibn Ḥallikān notes that Tustarī "dwelt for

Abū Nu'aim, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliya' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1357/1938, X, 110; Ḥaulānī, 'Abd Al-Ḡabbār, *Ta'riḥ Darāyyā*, Damascus 1369/1950, p. 54; Dailamī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf* (ed. A. Schimmel), Ankara 1955, p. 151f.

<sup>22</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 84f.; cf. Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā*, III, 72.

<sup>23</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 84f.; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā*, III, 72; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadqīrat al-auliya'*, I, 253; Ibn Al-'Arabī, Muḥyī Ad-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, 4 vols., Cairo 1329/1911, I, 76; II, 20; 102; III, 86; Al-Ḡawāb al-mustaḳīm, in: Tirmidī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b 'Alī Al-Ḥakīm, *Kitāb ḥatm al-auliya'* (ed. O. Yahya), Beyrouth 1965, p. 269f.; Munāwī, 'Abd Ar-Ra'ūf, *Al-Kawākib ad-durriyyah fi tarāḡim as-sādat aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 2 vols., Cairo 1357/1938, I, 238; Yāfi'ī, 'Abd Allāh b As'ad, *Mir'āt al-ḡanān*, 4 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1334–39, II, 201; *Raud' ar-rayāḥin fi ḥikāyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥin*, Cairo 1374/1955, p. 220.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, I, 76; II, 20; 102; III, 86; *Al-Ḡawāb al-mustaḳīm*, op. cit., 269f.

<sup>25</sup> Munāwī, *Kawākib*, I, 238.

some time at 'Abbādān".<sup>26</sup> Yāfi'ī speaks about Tustarī's effort of escaping to "an island between 'Abbādān and Baṣrah",<sup>27</sup> but finds the reason for this refuge in rumours that circulated among the people about Tustarī's capacity for bilocation. Ibn Baṭṭūḥa testifies that "between Baṣrah and Ubullah, there is the cell (*muta'abbad*) of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh of Tustar."<sup>28</sup> The decisive event of Tustarī's visit to 'Abbādān, however, was his vision of "the supreme name of God (*ism Allāh al-a'zam*)". This experience seems to have had a strong impact on his life, since it constitutes one of the few visions reported as an autobiographical statement in Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. Commenting on the Qur'ānic verse, "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting" (2,255), Tustarī says:

"This is the greatest verse in the Book of God. It includes the supreme name of God which is written in the sky with green light in a single line from east to west. I used to see it written like that in the Night of Might (*lailat al-qadr*) when I was at 'Abbādān." In another passage Tustarī explains the same Qu'ānic phrase (3,2) as: "It is God's supreme name written on the sky with green light from east to west."<sup>29</sup>

It might be an admissible conjecture to interpret his nocturnal vision of the divine name as a glimpse of the astral galaxies (possibly the milky way), since Anṣārī's account has Tustarī perceive the supreme name of God written in the heavenly stars: "One night I was joyful and went out into the desert (*ṣaḥrā*) taking a stroll when (I saw the name) Allāh, Allāh written in all the stars of the sky."<sup>30</sup>

From 'Abbādān Tustarī returned to his hometown, but after a few years set out to journey. His years of travel included the pilgrimage (*ḥaḡḡ*) to Makkah, which he performed only once in his life as explicitly stated by Sarrāḡ.<sup>31</sup> 'Aṭṭār traces his itinerary to the Holy City via Kūfah where Tustarī tied himself to a tread-mill and pulled it all day for a *dirham*.<sup>32</sup> If Ibn Sālim's report is accurate, Tustarī went on the pilgrimage in the year 219/834:

Sahl did not go for the pilgrimage except at the pilgrimage of Islām (*ḥiḡḡat al-islām*). He performed the pilgrimage when he was sixteen years old. His provision was some pounded grilled liver, of which he used to swallow a little when he was hungry."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, II, 150; tr. deSlane, I 603.

<sup>27</sup> Yāfi'ī, *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥin*, 220.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūḥa, Muḥammad b 'Abd Allāh, *Riḥlah* (ed. C. Defrémercy and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūḥa*), 4 vols., Paris 1874–79; II, 17; cf. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūḥa*, II, 281.

<sup>29</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17; 24.

<sup>30</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 116 (100).

<sup>31</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 167; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 15, however, cites a journey of Tustarī to Makkah at the later stage of his life.

<sup>32</sup> 'Aṭṭār, *Taḍkīrat al-auliya'*, I, 254; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 156.

<sup>33</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 167.

The sources are nearly in accord that Tustarī's pilgrimage to Makkah coincided with his encounter of Ḍu'n-Nūn Abu'l-Faiḍ Ṭaubān b Ibrāhīm Al-Miṣrī. Born in about 180/796 at Iḥmīm (Upper Egypt), Ḍu'n-Nūn lived mainly in Lower Egypt (Miṣr), yet is also known to have travelled extensively and to have visited 'Irāq. He was imprisoned at Baḡdād for some time during the caliphate of Al-Mutawakkil (232/847–247/861). After his release from prison he returned to Egypt and died there in 245/860.<sup>34</sup>

The earliest reference to a meeting between Ḍu'n-Nūn and Tustarī is Sulamī's statement that Tustarī "saw Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī with his own eyes (*ṣahida*) at Makkah in the year of his departure for the pilgrimage (*ḥaḡḡ*)."<sup>35</sup> This is confirmed by Abū Nu'aim's account that Tustarī "met (*laqiya*) Abu'l-Faiḍ Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī in the Holy City (*ḥaram*)",<sup>36</sup> and by Quṣairī's record that Tustarī "met (*laqiya*) Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī at Makkah in the year of his departure for the pilgrimage."<sup>37</sup> Aṭṭār has a slightly different story: "Then Sahl proceeded to the Ka'bah, where he met many Ṣūfī masters. From there he returned to Tustar, to find Ḍu'n-Nūn awaiting him."<sup>38</sup> Anṣārī seems to be the first to call Tustarī a "disciple (*ṣāḡird*) of Ḍu'n-Nūn," while Sam'ānī and Ibn Al-Aṭīr note that Tustarī "associated (*ṣahiba*) with Ḍu'n-Nūn."<sup>39</sup> Ša'rānī's precise note, "he saw Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī with his own eyes upon his departure for Makkah in the year 273 A. H.,"<sup>40</sup> has probably to be evaluated as a distorted copy of Sulamī's statement, since Ḍu'n-Nūn died in 245/860. Ma'šūm 'Alī Šāh refers to Tustarī as "one of Ḍu'n-Nūn's disciples (*aṣḥāb*)" and states that Tustarī "met Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī, associated with him (*ṣuḥbat daṣṭab*), and was his disciple (*ṣāḡird*) and novice (*murīd*)."<sup>41</sup> Finally, an obscure anecdote, related by Aḥmad b Sālim, suggests that Ḍu'n-Nūn was one of Tustarī's visitors at some point: "A man came to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī. We assumed

<sup>34</sup> M. Smith, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, II, 242 (art. *Dhu'l-Nūn*); Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, IX, 331–395; A. J. Arberry, *A Biography of Dhul-Nūn Al-Miṣrī* in: Rām, M. and Aḥmad, M. D., *'Arshī Presentation Volume*, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 11–27.

<sup>35</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 199.

<sup>36</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 190.

<sup>37</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 83.

<sup>38</sup> Aṭṭār, *Tadkīrat al-auliya'*, I, 254; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 156.

<sup>39</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 113 (97).

Sam'ānī, 'Abd Al-Karīm b Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-ansāb* (facsimile, Margoliouth), Leiden 1912, f. 106b; Ibn al-Aṭīr, 'Izz Ad-Dīn 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Al-Lubāb fī taḥḍīb al-ansāb*, 3 vols., Cairo 1357/1938, I, 176.

<sup>40</sup> Ša'rānī, 'Abd Al-Wahhāb b Aḥmad, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā. Lawāiqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-aḥyār*, 2 vols., Cairo 1355/1936, I, 66.

<sup>41</sup> Ma'šūm 'Alī Šāh. *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, II, 162, 401.

that he was Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī according to the description by which Sahl depicted him."<sup>42</sup>

These references to a personal contact (*ṣahida*, *laqiya*) and to a master-disciple relationship (*ṣaḥiba*) between the two mystics raise the question of Ḍu'n-Nūn's possible influence on the development of Tustarī's Ṣūfī career. In the absence of a scholarly study on Ḍu'n-Nūn, it is impossible to document a dependency of Tustarī on the latter. But there is considerable circumstantial evidence that links the two mystics in their personal contact and philosophical orientation. Besides the record of Tustarī's encounter or association with Ḍu'n-Nūn, the Ṣūfī primary sources record four significant references about the specific relationship between the two Ṣūfis.

The first reference is preserved in a manuscript monograph on Ḍu'n-Nūn's life and teaching, compiled by Ḡalāl Ad-Dīn Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) who quotes extracts from the *Aḥbār al-'arīfin*, a lost Ṣūfī source by Ibn Bākūyah (d. 428/1037).<sup>43</sup> In one of these extracts Ibn Bākūyah records the only extant report of Tustarī's visit to Egypt (Miṣr) where Ḍu'n-Nūn teaches him a lesson about trust in God (*tawakkul*). Tustarī himself is cited as narrating:

"I put on the patched frock (*muraqqa'ah*) and resolved on travelling to Ḍu'n-Nūn in the state of trust in God (*tawakkul*). When I reached Egypt (Miṣr) and entered his house, he asked me, what is this dress (*libās*) for? I answered, I intended to travel in the state of trust in God. Thus he said to me, I travelled for several years but trust in God did not become true for me except at one time. I travelled by sea when the boat shipwrecked. I hung on to a plank of the boat and said to myself: If God has decreed it for you that you drown, to what avail is this plank for you? So I let go the plank and drifted on the water. I reached the shore and looked around, and all of a sudden there was a stone on which was written, 'and whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him' (65, 3)."<sup>44</sup>

Secondly, a reference found in Sarrāḡ's *Luma'* supplies the background to an enigmatic phrase in the *Hilyat al-auliya'*, which has Tustarī point out "a certain duty (*ḥaqq*) incumbent on me, when Ḍu'n-Nūn died yesterday".<sup>45</sup> The passage in the *Luma'* seems to warrant the inference that, only after Ḍu'n-Nūn's death in 245/860, did Tustarī begin to discuss Ṣūfī doctrines in public:

"Sahl b 'Abd Allāh is said to have been questioned about certain problems (*masā'il*) concerning mystical knowledge (*'ilm*), yet did not make any statements about them. But after some time, he engaged in discourse about them with the most beautiful teaching (*kalām*).

<sup>42</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Kitāb al-mu'araqaḥ wa'r-radd 'alā ahl al-firaq wa-ahl ad-da'awā fi'l-aḥwāl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 205b.

<sup>43</sup> Arberry, *A Biography of Dhul-Nūn*, 13.

<sup>44</sup> Arberry, *A Biography of Dhul-Nūn*, 19.

<sup>45</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Hilyat al-auliya'*, X, 193.



Being asked about his earlier refraining from teaching, he answered: Du'n-Nūn was among the living; I did not like to engage in discourse concerning mystical knowledge ('ilm) as long as he was alive, out of reverence and respect for him."<sup>46</sup>

The third reference is a crucial statement by Yaḥyā As-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) who coined the phrase of the "pre-eternal leaven (*al-ḥamīrah al-azaliyyah*)"<sup>47</sup> as representative of the wisdom tradition of the ancient sages. In poetic language Suhrawardī depicts the basis of his philosophy of illumination (*išrāq*) as being formed by the confluence of the two principal strands of this wisdom tradition, the Greek Platonic/Pythagorean current (as transmitted through Hirmīs) and the Persian Pahlavī current (as handed on through Kai Ḥusrau). He proceeds to explain that "the Pythagorean leaven fell to the share of the brother of Iḥmīm (*waqa'at ilā aḥī Iḥmīm*) and from him came down to the itinerant of Tustar and his party (*wa-minhu nazalat ilā sayyār Tustar wa-šī'atibi*)", whereas the "Ḥusrauan leaven" was transmitted by Abū Yazīd Al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874), Al-Ḥusain b Maṣṣūr Al-Ḥallāḡ (d. 309/922) and Abu'l-Ḥasan Al-Ḥaraqānī (d. 425/1029).<sup>48</sup> In fact, "the brother of Iḥmīm" and "the itinerant of Tustar" refer to Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī and Sahl At-Tustarī respectively. Suhrawardī thus assumes that certain Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean trends of Greek wisdom, as incorporated in the Hermetic literature, were handed on to the circles of the Ṣūfī philosophers. He cites Du'n-Nūn and, in dependence on him, Tustarī and his associates as the mediating links who are responsible for the transmission of this wisdom tradition from the Hermetic environment to the Ṣūfī milieu.

This seems to be corroborated by Suhrawardī's autobiographical statement that is summarized in the *Āṭār al-bilād wa-aḥbār al-'ibād* of Zakariyā' b Muḥammad Al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283). In a dream vision Suhrawardī questions Aristotle about Tustarī and his peers (*amtāl*) and receives the reply from the luminous figure of the ancient teacher (*mu'allim*): "In truth, those are the philosophers (*falāsifah*). They uttered that which we have articulated (*naṭaqū bimā naṭaqnā*)."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Sarraḡ, *Luma'*, 181.

<sup>47</sup> H. Corbin, *Šihābaddīn Yaḥyā As-Suhrawardī, Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*, vol. I, Istanbul 1945, introduction p. XLIf.

<sup>48</sup> Suhrawardī, *Šihāb Ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, Kitāb al-maṣārī wa'l-muṭārahāt* (ed. H. Corbin, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*), vol. I, Istanbul 1945, p. 502f.; cf. *Kitāb ḥikmat al-išrāq* (ed. H. Corbin, *Opera metaphysica et Mystica*), vol. II, Tehrān/Paris, 1952, pp. 255; 305; cf. *Maḡmū'āt-i aṭār-i fārsī* (ed. H. Corbin, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*), vol. III, Tehrān/Paris 1970, p. 76.

<sup>49</sup> Qazwīnī, Zakariyā' b Muḥammad, *Āṭār al-bilād wa-aḥbār al-'ibād*, Beyrouth 1380/1960, p. 571; Ma'šūm 'Alī Šāh identifies these peers as Ḡunaid and Biṣṭāmī, cf. *Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, I, 155; 288.

This dream vision of "the succour of the souls (*ḡiyāt an-nufūs*) and the guide of wisdom (*imām al-ḥikmah*), the first teacher (*al-mu'allim al-awwal*)" Aristotle, is recorded in great detail by Suhrawardī in his *Kitāb at-talwihāt*. The account of the dream ends with the following passage: "Thereupon he (Aristotle) began to speak with high praise of his teacher (*ustād*), the divine Plato (*Aflātūn*). I was baffled at it and said, does any of the philosophers (*falāsifah*) of Islām attain to him? He replied, no, not even to the thousandth part of his rank! Then I enumerated a group of whom I am aware, yet he did not pay attention to them. When I turned to Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī and their peers (*amtāl*), it was as if he rejoiced and said, in truth, those are the philosophers (*falāsifah*) and the sages (*ḥukamā'*)! They did not stop at the formal knowledge (*al-'ilm ar-rasmī*) but went on to the participatory, unitive, experiential knowledge (*al-'ilm al-ḥuḍūrī al-ittiṣālī aš-ṣuhūdī*). They did not occupy themselves with the bonds of matter (*ḥayūlā*), thus they have 'a near place (in Our presence) and a fair resort' (38, 25 and 40). They were stirred by that by which we were roused (*taḥarrakū 'ammā taḥarraknā*) and they uttered that which we have articulated (*naṭaqū bimā naṭaqqnā*)."<sup>50</sup> A marginal gloss that is added to this passage enumerates Ḍu'n-Nūn and Tustarī together with Bisṭāmī, Ḥallāḡ and Ḥaraqānī among those well versed in illuminative wisdom (*al-ḥikmah al-kašfiyyah*).

Ibn Al-'Arabī also states that Tustarī and Ḡunaid derived their mystical doctrine from Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī and other authorities.<sup>50a</sup> The *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'* of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Yūsuf Al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) cites "Al-Ḥārit b Asad Al-Muḥāsibī, Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī and their peers (*nuzarā'*)" as exponents of "the esoteric knowledge (*'ilm al-bāṭin*) that is the doctrine of the Ṣūfis (*madḥab al-mutaṣawwifin*)" and the legacy of Ḡābir b Ḥayyān (d. 200/815?), the notorious alchemist and philosopher of the 2nd/8th century.<sup>51</sup>

Suhrawardī's statement of Ḍu'n-Nūn and Tustarī as inheritors and transmitters of Greek philosophy, however, does not include any historical evidence of Tustarī's precise role in this transmission nor of his direct dependence on Ḍu'n-Nūn. But Ṣūfī posterity preserves a memory of the spiritual affinity between Tustarī and Ḍu'n-Nūn in a line of secret gnostic affiliation which is cited in Taqī Ad-Dīn Al-Wāsiṭī's *Tiryaq al-muḥibbīn* (written in 720/1320). There, one of Aḥmad b Ar-Rifā'ī's (d. 578/1182)

<sup>50</sup> Suhrawardī, Ṣihāb Ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, *Kitāb at-talwihāt* (ed. H. Corbin, *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*), vol. I, Istanbūl 1945, p. 74.

<sup>50a</sup> Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, I, 151.

<sup>51</sup> Qifṭī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Yūsuf, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'* (ed. J. Lippert), Leipzig 1903, p. 160.

lines of spiritual affiliation (*silsilah*) is linked with a line of secret gnostic teaching that directly connects Tustarī with Du'n-Nūn.<sup>51a</sup>

Fourthly, the reputed association of Du'n-Nūn and Tustarī also appears to be reflected by Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b Muḥammad Al-'Irāqī As-Simāwī (7th/13th century) who mentions Du'n-Nūn, Tustarī, Suhrawardī and others among the authorities in the secret sciences and the art of letter-magic.<sup>52</sup> This assertion too has circumstantial, not substantive, historical evidence in its favour. Du'n-Nūn was well versed in the "Hermetic" art of alchemy and the secret sciences,<sup>53</sup> while Tustarī is known neither as an alchemist nor as an astrologer. On the other hand, Tustarī's distinction of four branches of science (*'ilm*) enumerates religion (*diyānah*), medicine (*ṭibb*), astrology (*nuḡūm*) and alchemy (*kīmīyā*).<sup>54</sup> Tustarī also applied a symbolic interpretation to the Qur'ānic letters and is credited with an epistle on the cosmological symbolism of the alphabet (*Ar-Risālah fi'l-hurūf*).<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, he is cited as the author of a clairvoyance chart (*zā'irḡah*) which uses an arrangement of concentric circles and Arabic letters to divine the secrets of the present and of the future.<sup>56</sup> Tustarī also implicated himself in a dispute between a doctor of Šāfi'ī law and a Šūfī ascetic concerning the knowledge of the letters (*'ilm al-hurūf*).<sup>57</sup>

Only one story in the early Šūfī sources, it seems, suggests Tustarī's acquaintance with alchemistic skills, since Tustarī recovers the instruments of a certain Ishāq b Aḥmad, who "repented and became the disciple (*tāba wa-ṣaḥība*)" of Tustarī at Baṣrah.<sup>58</sup> For, when Ishāq b Aḥmad died, so the *Luma'* reports, Tustarī entered his hermitage (*ṣauma'ah*) and found there a lump of gold and a lump of silver along with two bottles, one filled with a red substance (quicksilver?) and the other with a yellow one (sulphur?).

<sup>51a</sup> Wāsiṭī, Taqī Ad-Dīn 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b 'Abd Al-Muḥsin, *Tiryāq al-muḥibbīn fi ṭabaqāt ḥirqat al-mašāyih al-'ārifīn*, Cairo 1305/1888, pp. 6f.; 42; cf. J. S. Trimingham, *The Šūfī Orders in Islām*, Oxford 1971, p. 263.

<sup>52</sup> M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islām*, Leiden, 1972, p. 392.

<sup>53</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 643; IV, 273; Qifṭī, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*, 185.

<sup>54</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl b 'Abd Allāh*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 63b.

<sup>55</sup> Tustarī Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Risālah fi'l-hurūf*, ms. Ch. Beatty 3168/3, ff. 83a–87a.

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ḥaldūn, 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, vol. I, Beyrouth 1961, p. 206f.; Bağdātli, Ismā'il Pāšā, *Hadiyyat al-'ārifīn*, 2 vols, Istanbul 1951–55, I, 412; L. Massignon, *Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe*, in: A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, vol. I, Paris 1944, p. 399; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strassbourg 1966, pp. 243ff.; Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islām*, pp. 333; 319.

<sup>57</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 407 (lacuna) = A. J. Arberry, *Pages From the Kitāb al-luma'*, London 1947, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 319.

But, dissociating himself from the display of alchemistic practice, Tustarī threw the gold and silver into the Tigris River, poured the liquids on the ground, and explained to his disciple, Muḥammad b Sālīm, how in alchemistic experiment, the elixir transmutes copper and lead into gold and silver.<sup>59</sup>

In conclusion to the problem of Tustarī's possible dependence on Ḍu'n-Nūn one may safely state that Tustarī knew Ḍu'n-Nūn through personal encounter and was aware of his mystical doctrines. But only after the latter's death in 245/860, does Tustarī appear to have come to public notice with the mystical teaching of his own. Although Ḍu'n-Nūn does not emerge from the sources as Tustarī's direct Ṣūfī master, he has to be considered as Tustarī's spiritual forebear, who drew from the same font of the gnostic tradition as his spiritual heir apparent.

The years of Tustarī's formation had brought the student from Tustar to Baṣrah and 'Abbādān, to Kūfah and Makkah, and possibly also to Egypt. He had received a basic training in Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, had been initiated into Ṣūfī forms of prayer and had caught glimpses of Ṣūfī doctrines. Muḥammad b Sawwār and Ḥamzah Al-'Abbādānī were instrumental in opening for him the world of Ṣūfī practice and speculation, yet disappeared from the scene of his life during his adolescence. Ḍu'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī on the other hand might have influenced the shaping of his career at later stages of his life, though there is little concrete information about it. Tustarī's formation was not only conducted by spiritual masters, but it was to a large extent worked out by himself in the seclusion of Tustar. There he imposed upon himself a method of strict self-discipline that was marked by an austere way of life and the ascetic practice of systematic fasting. According to Quṣairī Tustarī begins the austere practices upon his return from 'Abbādān and continues them far into his adult life:

"Then I returned to Tustar. By that time, my diet had been reduced to the point that (my people) would buy barley for me for a dirham, grind it, and bake it into bread for me. Every night, about dawn I would break my fast with merely an ounce (of that bread), without salt or condiment. The *dirham* lasted a year for me. After that I resolved to break my fast once every three days, then once every five days, then once every seven days, then once every twenty-five days. I continued this practice for twenty years."<sup>60</sup>

For these two decades or so, from about 219/834 to 245/860, the sources yield no other information than that severe fasting and systematic hunger (*ḡū'*) remained the characteristic feature of Tustarī's life style. Many an anecdote depicts him as an ardent practitioner of hunger and starvation.

<sup>59</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 326f.; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 677.

<sup>60</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 85; Gazzālī, *Iḥyā'*. III, 72.

Tustarī is said to have eaten once every fifteen days.<sup>61</sup> During the whole month of Ramaḍān he had only a single bite, and broke his fast with pure water.<sup>62</sup> Thus, it was related about Tustarī, “whenever Sahl hungered, he grew strong, but when he ate something, he grew weak.”<sup>63</sup> According to some reports he abstained from food for seventy days,<sup>64</sup> and according to others “Sahl did not abandon the food but the food abandoned him”.<sup>65</sup> Finally, he “was fasting on the day of his birth and also on the day of his death.”<sup>66</sup> Tustarī’s ascetic rule seems to have given fasting precedence over ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) since Ibn Al-Ğauzī records his displeasure at Tustarī’s opinion that “the prayer performed sitting by a famished person whom hunger has enfeebled is better than the prayer performed standing by one whom food has invigorated.”<sup>67</sup>

These extreme claims of life-long fasting and abstinence conflict somewhat with the evidence of Tustarī’s balanced life style and healthy diet during the course of his mature Šūfī career, although he had entered upon the Šūfī path in austerity and fasting:

“Sahl, when asked about his practice in his (Šūfī) beginnings (*bidāyah*), related in reply all kinds of ascetic practices (*riyāqāt*), among them that for some time he used to nourish himself on the leaves of lotus fruits (*nabq*) and that for three years he subsisted on three *dirhams*. Thus he answered to a questioner, each year I used to buy dates for two *dāniq* and an oil cake for four *dāniq*. Thereupon I kneaded it into dough and divided it into 360 buns, every night breaking my fast with one bun. The questioner asked, what is your practice at this point? (He replied), I eat without restriction and restraint.”<sup>68</sup>

The systematic starvation of the body that marks Tustarī’s years of seclusion was not an end in itself but the consequence of Tustarī’s view that continuous recollection of God, indeed God Himself, is the daily sustenance of man. Three slightly different versions of the same dialogue depict this view of Tustarī. An anecdote has Du’n-Nūn and Tustarī discuss the sustenance of the soul:

“He (Du’n-Nūn) questioned him (Tustarī) about the provision (*rizq*). Sahl answered, religious knowledge (*ilm*) is the provision. He replied, I did not question you about this. He (Sahl) answered, about what did you question me then? He replied, about the nourishment (*ğidā*). (Tustarī) answered, the continuous remembrance of God (*ad-ğikr ad-dā’im*) is the

<sup>61</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 162; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 332.

<sup>62</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 162; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 332.

<sup>63</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 202, 330; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 333; 681.

<sup>64</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 202, 330; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 681.

<sup>65</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 202.

<sup>66</sup> Ğullābī, *Kaṣf al-maḥğūb*, 416; tr. Nicholson, 322.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn Al-Ğauzī, Abu’l-Farağ ‘Abd Ar-Raḥmān, *Talbīs Iblīs. Naqd al-‘ilm wa’l-‘ulamā*, Cairo 1369/1950, p. 204.

<sup>68</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 60f.; cf. IV, 52.

nourishment. He replied, I did not question you about this. (Tustarī) answered, about what did you question me then? He replied, about the food (*akl*) which constitutes the sustenance of the soul (*qiwām an-nafs*). (Tustarī) answered, what have you to do with the soul! Leave it to the One who took charge of the beginning of her life until He also takes charge of the end of her life."<sup>69</sup>

Since the story depicts Tustarī as superior to Du'n-Nūn (Tustarī has the answers to the questions!), the actual questioner may have been none other than Aḥmad b Sālim. For, in the *Hilyat al-auliya'*, Aḥmad b Sālim narrates how a youth approaches Tustarī with the query: "Oh master (*ustād*), what is the daily diet (*qūt*)?" Tustarī answers, "continuous remembrance of God (*ad-dīkr ad-dā'im*)."<sup>70</sup> The youth comes back with the question about "the sustenance of the soul (*qiwām an-nafs*)" and receives Tustarī's reply: "Oh man, the things (*ašyā*) are not sustained save by virtue of God." Upon the insistence of the questioner, "I did not mean this, I asked you about that from which there is no escape," Tustarī replies: "Oh youth (*fatā*), there is no escape from God."<sup>71</sup>

In Makkī's version of the story Tustarī replies upon the anonymous question about the daily diet of the believer (*qūt al-mu'min*): "God is his daily diet (*qūtuhu Allāh*)", and continues to define the remembrance of God (*dīkr*) as man's sustenance (*qiwām*) and religious knowledge (*ilm*) as his nourishment (*ḡidā*). The questioner restates his question: "I asked you about the food of the body (*ṭu'mat al-ḡism*)," and Tustarī answers: "What do you have to do with the body (*ḡism*)! Leave the body to the One who took charge of it in eternity, He will (also) take charge of it right now!"<sup>72</sup>

In the *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, Ġazzālī collected many aphorisms of Tustarī on the value of hunger and fasting and illustrated them with Tustarī's practice of systematic starvation of the body.<sup>73</sup> In fact, Tustarī's mystical visions might have been conditioned by this ascetic discipline of total body control. The strict ascetic practice of his life of seclusion at Tustar appears to have provided Tustarī with the mental discipline that marks the consistency of his thought, the solitude of his prayer, the prudence of his teaching and the composure in his sickness and old age.

The sources do not supply any information about Tustarī's intellectual training during the period of the approximately two decades defined as his years of seclusion. We possess no knowledge about the books Tustarī might have read nor about the philosophical interests he might have pursued. We

<sup>69</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḡah*, 205 b f.; cf. Ibn Al-'Arabī, *Futūḡhāt*, IV, 249.

<sup>70</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Hilyat al-auliya'*, X, 208.

<sup>71</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 46; Bāḡharzī, Abu'l-Mafāḡir Yahyā, *Aurād al-aḡbāb wa-fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, Tehrān 1386/1966, p. 326.

<sup>72</sup> Ġazzālī, *Ihyā'*, III, 80 f.; 86 f; 94; IV, 155; 220.

simply are faced with the fact that Tustarī emerged as a teacher with a mystical doctrine of his own at about the time of Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī's demise in 245/860. This is a likely date for the beginning of his public teaching since the reference to pupils and disciples of Tustarī do not antedate that time. Also, the religious controversies, aroused by his mystical teaching, surface several years after this date when, it may be assumed, his teaching had achieved a measured amount of maturity and notoriety.

## 2. Tustarī's years of teaching in Tustar and Baṣrah

The course of Tustarī's life appears to have been affected by the warfare of the Ṣaffārids and by the uprising of the Zang, which entailed political and social unrest in the 'Abbāsīd provinces of 'Irāq and Ḥūzistān during the second half of the 3rd/9th century:

The Ṣaffārids, a Persian popular movement of Sunnī mentality in the Iranian lands, included local bands of brigands (*'ayyārūn*) and militia forces of volunteers (*muṭṭawī'ah*), who were recruited mainly from the working class. Their leader, Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ Aṣ-Ṣaffār, a coppersmith and caravan plunderer, became master of Sīstān (Siḡistān) in 251/865 and, by 259/873, brought the Ṭāhirid possessions of Ḥurāsān under his control. Unable to obtain caliphal recognition as governor of the conquered areas, Ya'qūb turned westward, subdued the province of Fars in 261/875 and proceeded to Baḡdād. But, at Dair al-'Aqūl, he was defeated by the caliphal regent Al-Muwaffaq in 262/876 and had to withdraw to Ġundaiṣābūr in northern Ḥūzistān, where he died in 265/879. Ya'qūb's successor, his brother 'Amr b Al-Laiṭ, a former mule-hirer and mason, was recognized as governor by the caliph and went eastward to cope with a revolt in Naisābūr (266/880). In the following years 'Amr was compelled to conduct continuous warfare against local insurgents in Ḥurāsān and the Sāmānids of Transoxiana. Finally captured by Sāmānid troops near Balḥ in 288/901, 'Amr was sent a prisoner to Baḡdād, where the caliph Al-Mu'tadid had him starved to death in 289/902.<sup>73</sup>

The movement of social rebellion in Lower 'Irāq and Southern Ḥūzistān, known as "the revolt of the Zang" (255/868–270/883), combined black tribesmen of East African extraction (the Zang proper, from the Persian *zang*, "negro") who, since Umayyad times, had been

<sup>73</sup> T. Nöldeke, *Ya'qūb the Coppersmith*, in: *Sketches from Eastern History*, London 1892, pp. 176–206; W. Barthold, *Zur Geschichte der Ṣaffāriden*, in: *Orientalische Studien zu T. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, pp. 171–191; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, Rome 1968, pp. 109–123; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 33f.

employed as slaves in the cultivation of the irrigated lands and marshes around Baṣrah, and white, non-Arab Muslims from the lower middle classes of the urban and rural environment who were affiliated as clients (*mawālī*) with the Arab tribal structure and took control of the movement. Their leader (*ṣāhib az-zanğ*), a certain 'Alī b Muḥammad who claimed 'Alid descent, attributed to himself the prerogatives of a caliph and *imām*. After an unsuccessful revolt in Baḥrain (249/863) he began recruiting followers among the urban *mawālī* of Baṣrah and the peasants of the neighbouring regions. The movement gained its decisive momentum when 'Alī b Muḥammad took up the social grievances of the black slaves, had them swear allegiance to himself and incited them to insurrection in the manner of a Zaidī pretender to the *imāmate*.

With the support of Arab tribesmen of the Banū Tamīm, the Zanğ, these bands of urban *mawālī*, peasants and emancipated slaves, finally rose in revolt in the vicinity of Baṣrah during Ramaḍān 255/868. They took Ubullah, 'Abbādān and Ahwāz in 257/870 and then beleaguered Baṣrah itself, raided and sacked it in 258/871. Although they had to withdraw to Muḥtārah, their fortified camp in the marshes, the Zanğ seem to have regained some foothold in Baṣrah in 260/873 until they had to relinquish the town after their defeat at Tahītā in 267/880. Incapable of seizing Ḥūzistān from 'Abbāsīd and Ṣaffārīd control despite several successful raids on the region, the Zanğ concentrated their forces on the swamps southwest of Wāsiṭ, which they captured in 265/878. But when the Zanğ advanced within short range of Baġdād, Al-Muwaffaq sent an expedition that finally routed them in 270/883. Muḥtārah was taken after a long siege and 'Alī b Muḥammad killed in battle.<sup>74</sup>

During the period of disturbances worked by the Ṣaffārīds and the Zanğ, Tustarī was compelled to leave Tustar in northern Ḥūzistān and settled at Baṣrah in Lower 'Irāq. There is however conflicting evidence in the Ṣūfī sources concerning the precise time of this event and the specific cause that led to it. The evidence of the primary sources focuses on five points: the anecdote of Tustarī's cure of the Ṣaffārīd ruler, the presence of Tustarī at Baṣrah during the ransacking by the Zanğ, the statements about Tustarī's expulsion from Tustar, the record of the birth of a well-known Mālīkī jurist and the biography of Ḥallāğ's adolescence.

<sup>74</sup> L. Massignon, EI, IV, 1213 (art. *Zandj*); B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, New York, 1958, pp. 103–106; A. Popovic, 'Alī b Muḥammad et la révolte des esclaves à Baṣra, Paris 1965; H. Halm, *Die Traditionen über den Aufstand des 'Alī b Muḥammad, des Herrn der Zanğ*, Bonn 1967; Aṣ'arī, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Ismā'il, *Kitāb Maqālāt al-islāmīyyīn wa-iḥtilāf al-muṣallīn* (ed. H. Ritter), Wiesbaden 1963, p. 85 (*ṣāhib al-Baṣrah*), 80, 83.



The episode of the cure of Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ through the power of Tustarī's prayer is recorded by Abū Nu'aim on Sulamī's authority and by Quṣairī on the authority of Abū 'Alī Ad-Daqqāq. It is mentioned by Ġunaid Aṣ-Širāzī and by Yāfi'ī, and is embellished by 'Aṭṭār who, like possibly Ḥarkūšī, has Tustarī cure 'Amr b Al-Laiṭ instead of Ya'qūb.<sup>75</sup> Abū Nu'aim says:

"In some district of Ḥūzistān (*kuwar al-Ahwāz*) Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ was struck by an illness in his stomach. He assembled the physicians, but they were powerless to treat him. When told about Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, he ordered him brought by camel, which was done. Sahl entered Ya'qūb's house, sat down at his head and said: Our God, You have shown him the disgrace of disobedience (*mā'ṣiyah*), so show him now the glory of obedience (*ṭā'ah*). From this hour, Ya'qūb was relieved of his illness. Ya'qūb offered him possessions and clothes but he refused them and did not accept anything. When he returned to Tustar, one of his companions (*aṣḥāb*) told him that if he had accepted those possessions, they could have been distributed to the poor. But he replied: Look at the earth (in my hands)! He looked at it and behold, the earth had become pure gold in his hands. So Sahl said: One whose state (*ḥāl*) is such with God, does not deem the possessions of Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ worth the trouble."<sup>76</sup>

If this anecdote reflects historical fact then Tustarī was summoned to the Ṣaffārid camp at Ġundaiṣābūr, about twenty miles west of Tustar, after Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ's defeat at Dair al-'Aqūl in 262/876 and prior to his death in 265/879. Since the Ṣaffārid sustained arrow wounds in the defeat, his illness, a gastric colic, might have been a consequence of that injury. In this case Tustarī would have been brought to the Ṣaffārid camp soon after Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ had withdrawn to Ġundaiṣābūr in 262/876. But Tustarī might also have been summoned to attend to the Ṣaffārid when Ya'qūb b Al-Laiṭ's troops seized Tustar in 263/877 from the control of 'Alī Al-Muhallabī, the leader of the Zanğ in Ḥūzistān. Although Tustarī declined to accept gifts as a reward for the cure and thus dissociated himself from any connection with the Ṣaffārids, he was permitted to return to Tustar, which must still have been his residence at the time. This conclusion, however, has to be contrasted with a passage recorded in Makki's *Qūt al-qulūb*:

"When the Zanğ entered Baṣrah and killed the living beings (*anfus*) and plundered the properties, Sahl's brethren gathered around him and said: Would that you begged God in this matter, would that you invoked (Him). But he kept silent and after a while said: God has servants in this town, if they invoked (Him) against the oppressors then no oppressor would enter upon morning on the face of the earth unless he had died during the night; but they don't do it. They replied: Why is that so? He said: Because they do not like what He does not like (to happen). Thereupon he mentioned certain aspects of God's answer (to prayer, *iğābah*)

<sup>75</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 210; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 531; Širāzī, Mu'in Ad-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim Ġunaid, *Ṣadd al-izār*, Tehrān 1328 s, p. 285; Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-ḡanān*, II, 201; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadkirat al-auliya'*, I, 255; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 156 f.; Massignon, *Passion*, 28.

<sup>76</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 210.

which we cannot quote. Finally he said: If they begged Him that the Hour (of Judgement Day, *as-sā'ah*) may not be established, He would not establish it."<sup>77</sup>

Taken at face value this reference suggests that Tustarī was a permanent resident at Baṣrah when the Zanğ pillaged the town in 258/871. But this inference conflicts with the explicit statement of Sarrāğ, repeated and modified by 'Aṭṭār and Munāwī, and with the account of Sulamī (as quoted by Ibn Al-Ğauzī) that Tustarī settled at Baṣrah after he had been expelled from his hometown, Tustar. Although Sarrāğ gives no reference to the time of this event, he elucidates the circumstances that led to Tustarī's expatriation, while Sulamī attests to different reasons for this move.

"As to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh – in spite of his knowledge (*ilm*) and the intensity of his endeavour (*iğtibād*) – he said: Repentance (*taubah*) is a duty incumbent (*faridah*) upon man ('*abd*) with every breath (*ma'a kulli nafas*). There was, in his district, a man of those to whom knowledge and worship is attributed, who aroused the populace against him, charged him with unbelief (*kaffarah*), and attributed to him evil acts before the people, so that they fell upon him (*watabū 'alaihi*). This was the reason of his departure (*hurūğ*) from Tustar and his demise at Baṣrah."<sup>78</sup>

According to 'Aṭṭār's account of the same event, Tustarī maintained that "repentance is a duty incumbent upon a man every moment, whether he be of the elect or the common folk, whether he be obedient to God or disobedient." The people, "commons and nobles alike", were turned against Tustarī by a man "who laid claim to be learned and an ascetic." But Tustarī "refrained from disputing with them to correct their misunderstanding", gave away all his possessions, and left Tustar.<sup>79</sup>

Munāwī, in essence, repeats the same story and adds that Tustarī "and his group (*ğamā'ah*) were driven out from their hometown (*balad*) to Baṣrah."<sup>80</sup>

Sulamī, on the other hand, says: "A certain man reported that Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī declared that the angels (*malā'ikah*), the spirits (*ğinn*) and the demons (*şayāṭin*) visited him and that he discoursed to them. This was disapproved by the populace, who went so far as to attribute evil acts to him, so that he fled (*harağā*) to Baṣrah, where he died."<sup>81</sup>

Although the sources are unanimous in citing the intrigues of some rival among the local scholars as the reason for Tustarī's expulsion from his hometown, one might conjecture that the presence of the Şaffārids in northern Ĥūzistān and their occupation of Tustar from 263/877 to 265/879 played a part in Tustarī's decision to leave for Baṣrah. Whatever the precise motive for Tustarī's change of residence, his expulsion from Tustar and his subsequent residence at Baṣrah must have taken place some time during the years 262/876 to 263/877. At any rate, Tustarī was installed in Baṣrah by 263/877, as it can be gathered from an incident reported by 'Iyād b Mūsā Al-Qāḍī (d. 544/1149) on the authority of Abū Marwān b Mālīk

<sup>77</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 104; Ġazzālī, *Ihyā'*, IV, 346; Bāharzī, *Aurād al-aḥbāb*, 345.

<sup>78</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 407 (lacuna) = Arberry, *Pages*, 9.

<sup>79</sup> 'Aṭṭār, *Taḍkirat al-auliya'*, I, 253 f.; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 155 f.

<sup>80</sup> Munāwī, *Kawākib*, I, 238.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Al-Ğauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 162.

Al-Qurtubī. In that year (263/877) or the following, the seven day old Abu'l-Faḍl Bakr b Muḥammad b Al-'Alā' Al-Quṣairī who became a Mālikī jurist of renown, was presented by his father to Tustarī, so that he may bless the boy. Bakr b Muḥammad b Al-'Alā', so 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā states, was a Baṣran who died in the hills east of Cairo (Al-Muqaṭṭam) in 344/955 at the age of eighty years and a few months.<sup>82</sup>

The birth of this Mālikī jurist fixes the latest possible date for Tustarī's arrival at Baṣrah (264/878) whereas the time soon after the Ṣaffārid defeat at Dair al-'Aqūl represents the earliest possible date for his expulsion from Tustar (262/876). Consequently, Makkī's reference to the petition of Tustarī's disciples for a prayer in the face of the marauding Zang cannot signify their ransacking of Baṣrah in 258/871 but points to some other disturbances worked by the Zang prior to their disappearance from the Baṣran scene after the defeat at Tahīṭā in 267/880.

This chronology of Tustarī's exile to Baṣrah is corroborated by certain inferences from Ḥallāḡ's biography. Massignon, in his monumental work on Ḥallāḡ (d. 309/922), quotes Ibn Bākūyah (d. 428/1037) who copied from Ḥallāḡ's biography as compiled by Murta'īs (d. 323/934) on the testimony of Ḥamd, a son of Ḥallāḡ.<sup>83</sup> Ibn Bākūyah's account (written in 426/1034) states that Ḥallāḡ "grew up at Tustar, became the pupil (*tatallama*) of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī for two years" and "travelled from Tustar to Baṣrah at the age of fifteen(!)", that is "at the age of eighteen" as recorded in the history of Baḡdād by Ḥaṭīb (d. 463/1071).<sup>84</sup> On the basis of this account, Massignon reconstructs the period of two years during which Ḥallāḡ became Tustarī's servant (*ḥādīm*) and disciple (*tilmīd*). Ḥallāḡ, who at the age of sixteen left Wāsiṭ to become Tustarī's pupil at Tustar in 260/873, abruptly abandoned Tustarī after two years in 262/875 and went to join the Ṣūfī 'Amr b 'Uṭmān Al-Makkī (d. 297/809) at Baṣrah, early in 262/876. There, in 263/877, he married Umm Al-Ḥusain, the daughter of Abū Ya'qūb Al-Aqṭa' Al-Baṣrī, who was an ally of the family Karnabā'ī that was sympathetic to the movement of the Zang. Ḥallāḡ continued to make his home at Baṣrah until 272/885 although in 264/878, after his clash with 'Amr b 'Uṭmān Al-Makkī, he journeyed to Ḡunaid (d. 298/910) at Baḡdād to seek his spiritual advise.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, Abu'l-Faḍl Al-Qāḍī, *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taqrīb al-masālik*, 5 vols., Beyrouth 1387/1967, III, 291.

<sup>83</sup> L. Massignon, *Quatre textes inédits*, Paris 1914, pp. 15–17 (introduction), pp. 29f. (text); *Passion*, 10, 23, 32.

<sup>84</sup> Ḥaṭīb, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b 'Alī Al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, 14 vols., Cairo 1349/1931, VIII, 112.

<sup>85</sup> Massignon, *Passion*, 33; 52; *SEI*, 127f. (art. *Ḥallāḡ*).

As far as the circumstances of Tustarī's expulsion from his hometown are concerned, the sources are unanimous in pointing to religious differences of opinion among the learned men ('*ulamā'*) of Tustar, not to the political events and social uprisings of the time. In fact, Tustarī's insistence on the obligatory nature of repentance (*taubah*) is cited as the point of this communal dissidence at Tustar. It is doubtful whether this theological dispute represents a sufficient explanation for Tustarī's exile, particularly since, at Baṣrah, he continued to meet with the opposition of certain scholars of religion. Thus Tustarī's decision to settle at Baṣrah might nevertheless have been influenced by the political and social events of the time and also by the attraction of the city of Baṣrah, one of the cultural centers of Muslim learning in the 3rd/9th century.

Although there is not a single primary source that would depict Tustarī in collusion with the Zang, it may be asked whether he might have had silent sympathies for their cause. Tustarī was compelled to leave his hometown when the rule of the Šī'ī Zang in Tustar was disrupted by the Sunnī Ṣaffārīds. He went into exile at Baṣrah where the Zang had recently installed a representative (*walī*) of their own and where he declined praying in public to avert their pillaging of the city. Also in Ḥallāḡ, Tustarī had formerly taught a student who was effectively related to certain partisan circles of the Zang in Baṣrah. The controversy that led to his expulsion from his hometown centered on his claim to being a saint who was inspired by supramundane powers and lived in instantaneous awareness of God by being continually turned towards God in repentance (*taubah*). Because of its Šī'ī overtones this claim must have been in line with the leadership ideas of the Zang, while it aroused suspicions among Sunnī minded Muslims. In fact, the controversy continued in Baṣrah at a critical level and culminated in Tustarī's claim of being the Proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*).

In Baṣrah,<sup>86</sup> Tustarī's presence made itself felt. He soon was examined by the Šāfi'ī doctors of religious law and was led to pay his respects to a leading Ḥanbalī scholar of Ḥadīṭ. The story of Tustarī's visit of Abū Dā'ūd As-Siḡistānī and his crossexamination at the hands of Zubairī and Sāḡī raise the implicit question of Tustarī's attitude towards the schools of Muslim religious law.

In the last years of his life, Abū Dā'ūd Sulaimān b Al-Aṣ'at b Ishāq As-Siḡistānī (d. 275/889), a prominent associate of Aḥmad b Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) at Baḡdād, had to make his home at Baṣrah upon the directive of the caliphal regent Al-Muwaffaq. One day, so Ibn Ḥallikān narrates,

<sup>86</sup> C. Pellat, *EP*, I, 1085f. (art. *Baṣrah*); *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ḡābiḡ*, Paris 1963.

Tustarī went to see Abū Dā'ūd with the request to "put out that tongue with which you related the traditions concerning the Prophet, so that I may kiss it." Abū Dā'ūd granted his request.<sup>87</sup>

Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā' As-Sāḡī was a traditionist and Šāfi'ī jurist, who was born at Baṣrah in 220/835 and died there in 307/909.<sup>88</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Az-Zubairī was a Šāfi'ī jurist and exegete of Baṣrah, who became blind and died in 317/929.<sup>89</sup> These two learned scholars took offense at Tustarī's claim to sainthood, "I am the proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*) for you in particular (*ḥāṣṣatan*) and for the people in general (*'āmmatan*)."<sup>90</sup> Ša'rānī describes the whole incident in his *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*:

"Tustarī used to say: I am the proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*) for the created beings (*ḥalq*) and I am a proof (*ḥuḡḡab*) for the saints of my time (*auliyā' zamānī*). This reached the ears of Abū Zakariyā' As-Sāḡī and of Abū 'Abd Allāh Az-Zubairī, so they went to see him. Abū 'Abd Allāh Az-Zubairī, who was intrepid because he was blind, said: We hear about you that you say, I am the proof of God for the created beings and I am the proof of God for the saints of my time. What have you become, a prophet (*nabī*) or a righteous (saint, *ṣiddīq*)? Sahl answered: I do not hold that view as you think, and I am not a prophet. I only said this because I insist on the soundness of eating what is lawful as far as I alone am concerned." Upon Zubairī's insistence Tustarī explains, how he achieves 'eating what is lawful' by dividing his intellect (*'aql*), knowledge (*ma'rifaḥ*) and daily diet (*qūt*) into seven portions. Unable to follow Tustarī's example, Zubairī "acknowledged Sahl's superiority (*faḡl*)."<sup>91</sup>

Tustarī's audacious claim of being "the proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*)" obviously challenged the finality of Muḥammad's prophethood in the minds of the scholars of religious law. Ḡunaid, on his part, seems to have understood Tustarī's claim that way, since he ranks Tustarī next to the most eminent prophets in a statement recorded in Quṣairī's *Kitāb as-samā'*:

"Sulaimān is the proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*) for the kings (*mulūk*), Ayyūb is the proof of God for the people of tribulation (*ahl al-balā'*), Yūnus is the proof of God for those who sing God's praise (*musabbihīn*), Yūsuf is the proof of God for the servants (*'abīd*), Adam is the proof of God for the sinners (*muḏannibīn*), Ibrāhīm is the proof of God for the ascetics (*zāhidīn*), Muḥammad is the proof of God for the mendicants (*fuqarā'*) and Sahl b 'Abd Allāh is the proof of God for the Šūfis (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh 'alā aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*). Truly, in every age (*zamān*), God sends forth (*yuhriḡū*) from among the elect of his servants (*min ḥawāṣṣ 'ibādihī*) someone whom He appoints a proof (*ḥuḡḡab*) for his creatures (*ḥalq*)."<sup>92</sup>

Tustarī's contention that he was the proof of God must have aroused serious suspicions in the ears of his Muslim contemporaries. The term

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, II, 139; tr. deSlane, I 590; cf. Sezgin, GAS, I, 149.

<sup>88</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 349.

<sup>89</sup> Sezgin, GAS, I, 495.

<sup>90</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>91</sup> Ša'rānī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 67; cf. Ibn Al-Ḡauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 204.

<sup>92</sup> Quṣairī, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm b Hawāzin, *Ar-Rasā'il al-quṣairiyyah*, Karachi 1964, p. 58f.

*ḥuḡḡah* itself developed into a keyterm of the Ismā'īlī system of thought as pointed out by W. Madelung.<sup>93</sup> Tustarī himself must have been well aware of the extent of his claim, since Abū Nu'aim quotes him as affirming the personality of a divinely appointed *imām* who is divinely guided (*mahdī*) and leader (*hādīn*) of his time in spiritual and secular matters, being called "the Alien in his age (*al-ḡarīb fī zamānihi*)":

"Whenever a man (*'abd*) performs something God has commanded him to do concerning the commandment of his religion (*dīn*), then executes it and adheres to it, and so avoids what God has prohibited in view of the corruption of the things, the confusion of the time, the difference of the people in (their) opinion (*ra'i*) and (their) disunion (*tafriq*), then God appoints him *imām* to be followed as a divinely guided leader (*hādīyan mahdīyan*), who has established the religion in his age (*ad-dīn fī zamānihi*) and has put up the order of the divine command and interdiction (*al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'n-nahī 'an al-munkar*), being the Alien in his age (*al-ḡarīb fī zamānihi*)."<sup>94</sup>

Ismā'īlī undertones may also be implied in Tustarī's statement: "There is no prophet (*nabī*) unless he has a peer (*naẓīr*) in his community, that is to say, unless he has a friend (*walī*) in his charism."<sup>95</sup>

These episodes of Tustarī's life at Baṣrah seem to imply that Tustarī was suspect in the circles of the Šāfi'ī jurists, yet was favourably received among the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs. The early sources however are silent about any affiliation of Tustarī with the Muslim schools of religious law. Later authors like Dārā Šikūh and Ġulām Sarwar Lahaurī believe him to have been a Ḥanafī Šūfī.<sup>96</sup> Their statement might be based on Ġullābī's note that Tustarī maintained the same view as Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) in the controversy about faith (*īmān*).<sup>97</sup> Ibn 'Imād on the other hand claims that Tustarī followed the school of religious law (*madhhab*) of Mālik b Anas (d. 179/795).<sup>98</sup> Two famous Mālikī scholars, the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b Mūsā Aš-Šāṭibī (d. 790/1388) cite extracts from this commentary.<sup>99</sup> Tustarī himself appears to have been received with respect

<sup>93</sup> W. Madelung, "Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre", *Der Islam* 37 (1961), pp. 43–135; cf. L. Gardet and M. G. S. Hodgson, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, III, 543–45 (art. *Ḥudjdja*).

<sup>94</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 190.

<sup>95</sup> Hamadānī, 'Ain al-Quḍāt Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, *Tamhīdāt* (ed. A. Osseirān), Tehrān 1962, p. 250; cf. however the parallel passages, pp. 47, 187.

<sup>96</sup> Dārā Šikūh, *Safīnat al-auliya'* (tr. Urdū), Karachī 1959, p. 174; Ġulām Sarwar Lahaurī, *Ḥazīnat al-aṣfiya'*, 2 vols., Lucknow 1290/1874, II, 162.

<sup>97</sup> Ġullābī, *Kaṣf al-mahgūb*, 286; tr. Nicholson, 368.

<sup>98</sup> Ibn 'Imād, Abū'l-Furūḥ 'Abd Al-Ḥayy, *Šadārāt ad-dahab fī aḥbār man dahab*, 8 vols., Cairo 1350/1931–1351/1932, II, 183.

<sup>99</sup> 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, Abū'l-Faḍl Al-Qāḍī, *Aš-Šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuquq al-muṣṭafā*, 2 vols., Damascus 1392/1972, I, 58f.; 60; 69; 78; 92f.; 96; 191; Šāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b Mūsā, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341/1922, III, 238–242.

in the Mālikī circles of Baṣrah, as the blessing of Bakr b Muḥammad b Al-'Alā' may suggest. Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī, Tustarī's spiritual forebear, is said to have adhered to the Mālikī school<sup>100</sup> while his teacher Muḥammad b Sawwār appears to have followed Sufyān Aṭ-Ṭaurī (d. 161/778), another head of a Sunnī school of religious law.<sup>101</sup>

The group of Tustarī's disciples at Baṣrah, known as the Sālimiyyah, is commonly considered as Mālikī Sunnī.<sup>102</sup> But Muqaddasī (d. 380/990), a reliable source on the issue, mentions Muḥammad b Sālim as a follower of Abū Ḥanīfah's school and cites other Sālimīs of Baṣrah as students of Mālikī jurisprudence.<sup>103</sup> Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī, who was associated with Aḥmad b Sālim at Baṣrah, was interred in the Mālikī cemetery of Baḡdād.<sup>104</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad b 'Umar Aṭ-Tustarī (d. 345/956), a relative (*qarīb*) of Sahl Aṭ-Tustarī, was a judge (*qāḍī*) and leading Mālikī jurist at Baṣrah.<sup>105</sup> But Abū Muḥammad Al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941), who had been a disciple of Tustarī for some time, became a Ḥanbalī jurist of renown at Baḡdād.<sup>106</sup>

To judge by the silence of the sources on the issue, Tustarī apparently did not attach any degree of importance to adhering to a particular *madhhab*. Tustarī himself might have favoured Ḥanafī views, as did his intimate disciple Muḥammad b Sālim, whereas the group of his followers in the 4th/10th century at Baṣrah tended to be Mālikī Sunnīs. The approval of traditions transmitted by Sufyān Aṭ-Ṭaurī and the admiration for Abū Dā'ūd As-Siḡistānī on the part of Tustarī seem to indicate his esteem for scholars of Ḥadīth rather than for scholars of religious law.

By his traditional training at the hands of Muḥammad b Sawwār and by his appreciation for the scholars of Ḥadīth, Tustarī is stamped as a Sunnī. Thus, in the *Kitāb uṣūl ad-dīn*, 'Abd Al-Qādir b Ṭāhir Al-Baḡdādī (d. 429/1037) counts Tustarī expressly among those Ṣūfis who belong to the *ahl as-sunnah*.<sup>107</sup> This view appears to be corroborated by Tustarī's political attitude towards the ruling authority of the Muslim community, as it is depicted by Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*. There Tustarī is on record as saying:

<sup>100</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 11 (9); Ibn Al-Ğauzī, *Talbis Iblis*, 161.

<sup>101</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 7; 11; 26; 50; 65; 67; 86.

<sup>102</sup> L. Massignon, *SEI*, 500 (art. *Sālimīya*).

<sup>103</sup> Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, 126.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, III, 430; tr. deSlane, III, 21.

<sup>105</sup> 'Iyād b Mūsā, *Tartīb al-madārik*, III, 288; Ibn Farḥūn, Ibrāhīm b 'Alī, *Kitāb ad-dibāğ*, Cairo 1351/1932, p. 247f.

<sup>106</sup> H. Laoust, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, I, 1039f. (art. *Barbahārī*); Ibn Al-Farrā', Muḥammad b Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābilah*, 2 vols., Cairo 1371/1952, II, 18–45.

<sup>107</sup> Baḡdādī, 'Abd Al-Qādir b Ṭāhir, *Kitāb uṣūl ad-dīn*, Istanbūl 1346/1928, p. 315.

"This community (*ummah*) consists of 73 factions (*firqah*); 72 are doomed to perdition (*ḥalīkah*), they all hate the ruler (*sulṭān*); the one that will be saved (*nāḡiyyah*) is the one which is with the ruler.

Upon the question who is the best of all people, he (Tustarī) answered, the ruler (*sulṭān*).

The caliph (*ḥalīfah*), when he is unjust (*ḡair ṣāliḥ*), belongs to the substitutes (*abdāl*); when he is righteous (*ṣāliḥ*), then he is the axis (*quṭb*) around which revolves this world.

One who denies the leadership of the ruler (*imāmat as-sulṭān*) is a heretic (*ẓindīq*); one who is summoned by the ruler but does not answer is an innovator (*muḥtadī*); one who comes to him without summons (*da'wah*) is an ignorant man (*ḡāḥil*)."<sup>108</sup>

"One who is killed by the sword of a just leader (*saif imām 'ādil*) will be in hell fire (*nār*)."<sup>109</sup>

On the other hand, the list of people quoted by name in the *Tafsīr*, attributed to Tustarī, includes not only traditional authorities close to the Sunnīs like Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ā'īṣah, Abū Hurairah, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn 'Umar,<sup>110</sup> but also Šī'ī authorities like 'Alī b Abi Ṭālib, his sons Ḥasan, Ḥusain and Muḥammad b Al-Ḥanafīyyah, his grandson 'Alī b Al-Ḥusain and Salmān al-Fārisī.<sup>111</sup>

Tustarī's controversy concerning repentance at Tustar and his claim to sainthood at Baṣrah have to be evaluated as incidents indicative of his Šūfī career rather than as isolated altercations with certain scholars of religious learning. For a great variety of aphorisms and anecdotes, factual and legendary, convey the idea that Tustarī viewed himself as a Šūfī "saint" (*walī*) who, parallel to a prophet, is in direct rapport with the divine sphere and in little need of the religious regime devised by the learned of the law. Some point-blank utterances, the scenario of his visionary experiences, a few reminiscences of the miraculous features of his career, and his ecstatic raptures in prayer adduce sufficient evidence and illustration for this point.

Some of Tustarī's statements seem directed against those learned in religion and law, as for example his advice to avoid the company (*ṣuḥbah*) of "indifferent potentates (*ḡabābirah*), flattering Qur'ān readers and ignorant Šūfīs",<sup>112</sup> or his declaration that "the black pieces of wood suspended at the doors of the Muslims are of more use than seventy *qāḏīs* passing judgement in the mosque".<sup>113</sup> Other utterances must also have offended

<sup>108</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 185f.

<sup>109</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḡah*, f. 218a.

<sup>110</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 71, 89, 103, 113, 122, 130 (Abū Bakr); 45, 51, 53, 57, 65, 71, 76, 83, 97, 103, 108, 112 ('Umar); 16, 69, 112, 113, ('Ā'īṣah); 6, 8, 21, (Abū Hurairah); 5, 30, 32, 56, 91, 94, 125 (Ibn Mas'ūd); 2, 4, 7, 8, 24, 25, 32, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 62, 92, 106, 108, 109, 115, 118, 130, 131, 132 (Ibn 'Abbās); 11, 21, 50, 67, 116 (Ibn 'Umar).

<sup>111</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 7, 8, 14, 22, 24, 26, 32, 49, 50, 51, 53 ('Alī); 66 (Ḥasan); 85 (Ḥusain); 26, 53 (Muḥammad b Al-Ḥanafīyyah); 128 ('Alī b Al-Ḥusain); 103 (Salmān Al-Fārisī).

<sup>112</sup> Sarraḡ, *Luma'*, 179; Ḡazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, II, 170.

<sup>113</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 186.



men of traditional learning, as his claim of lasting communion with God, “for thirty years I was speaking to God, and the people fancied that I was speaking to them,”<sup>114</sup> or his ranking of Ṣūfī charism next to prophetic portents and divine marvels: “The signs (*āyāt*) pertain to God, the miracles (*mu’ğizāt*) to the prophets (*anbiyā*), the charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*) to the saints (*auliyā*) and the best of the Muslims.”<sup>115</sup> Tustarī also promised divinely given, charismatic gifts for “anyone who renounces this world for forty days, with a true and sincere intention therein.”<sup>116</sup>

The scenario of the visionary experiences likewise depicts Tustarī in the setting of a saint: in the company of prophets and spiritual beings, aloft on a mythical mountain and in the garden of Paradise, rapt at the vision of the divine name and eating from the fruit of everlasting life, wandering in the tomb cities of the prophets and the stone castles of the *ğinn*, being greeted and taught by mysterious men from the corners of the world. Tustarī perceives the supreme name of God written in the sky at ‘Abbādān and beholds his disciples in the world of pre-existence at his side. Some subtle figure and cryptic saint proffers that he eat from the apple of paradise. An uncanny man, wrapped in a delicate garb of white wool, and a spirit, many centuries old, prays in his sight and bids him peace. Tustarī interviews the prophets in heaven, inspects Noah’s ark on the mountain Qāf and periodically visits the secret sepulchers of the prophets in Yemen. These descriptive examples not only emphasize the direct access of a Ṣūfī saint to the secret sources of divine inspiration but also illustrate Tustarī’s world of mystical imagination. They throw glimpses on Tustarī’s personal experience which forms the vivid background of his range of mystical ideas:

A comparatively late source, Ša’rānī’s *Anwār*, quotes a passage in which Tustarī envisages himself as standing among the group of his disciples in the world of pre-existence: “Sahl b ‘Abd Allāh At-Tustarī said, since that day, the day of ‘Am I not your Lord (*yaum alastu bi-rabbikum*),’ I know my disciples (*talāmiḍatī*), I know who would receive (divine) disclosure (*man yuṣṭaḥu lahu*) through my agency (*‘alā yadī*) and who would not, and I know who would be on my right-hand side and who on my left.”<sup>117</sup>

Tustarī’s dream vision about the encounter of a mysterious man with a *walī*, one of God’s friends, forms part of his commentary on the Qur’ānic phrase, “they shall be given a perfect semblance” (2,25.) which assumes only a nominal coincidence (*ittifāq al-asma’ faqat*) between the objects of paradise and those of this world. Thus, the saints in paradise (*al-auliyā’ fi’l-ğannah*) taste fruits which are equal in colour and shape though different in taste. The pomegranate (*rummānah*) of paradise is a token of divine friendship (*walāyah*) in this

<sup>114</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 53; Kalābāḍī, *Kitāb at-ta’arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. J. Arberry), Cairo 1934, p. 111; tr. A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, Cambridge 1935, p. 147.

<sup>115</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma’*, 315; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 204f.; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 114 (99).

<sup>116</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma’*, 315; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 87.

<sup>117</sup> Ša’rānī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 148 (margin).

world. "Sahl said, truly I know a man from among the friends (*auliya'*) who, in this world (*dunya*), saw a pomegranate, the biggest that there ever was, before a man on the shore of the sea. The friend (*wali*) said to him, what is this before you? He answered, it is a pomegranate which I saw in paradise (*ḡannah*). I desired it and God gave it to me. But when He put it before me, I felt remorse (*nadimtu*) about my haste to have it in this world. That man (i.e. the *wali*) asked him, may I eat from it? The man replied, if you are foreordained to (eat from) it, then do so. He (the *wali*) grabbed it with his hand and ate most of it. When the other saw him eat from it, he exalted him and said, I ask God's forgiveness, for I did not know your rank (*manzilah*) before you ate from it. This is so because only one who belongs to the people of paradise eats from the food of paradise in this world." Abū Bakr As-Siğzī adds: "I asked Sahl, the one who ate that pomegranate, what did he tell you?, what was its taste? He answered, indeed, it has a taste which comprises the tastes of all fruits and exceeds them through its soft and cool taste that is not found in any taste of this world. Abū Bakr said, I do not doubt, nor does anyone who heard this story from Sahl, that he was the man with the pomegranate and ate from it (*huwa ṣāhib ar-rummānah wa'l-ākil minhā*)."<sup>118</sup>

By way of illustration of the Qur'ānic verse: "Say, it has been revealed to me that a company of *ḡinn* gave ear" (72,1), Tustarī relates his vision of a *ḡinn* who has outlived the prophets Jesus and Muḥammad: "In the country (*diyār*) of 'Abd Al-Ūlā I saw a town (*madīnah*) built of stone with a great castle (*qaṣr*) carved out of stone where the *ḡinn* seek refuge. I entered the castle to take a look at it and saw an imposing individual (*ṣaḥṣ*) perform the prayer in the direction of the Ka'bah. He wore a garb (*ḡubbah*) of white wool (*ṣūf*) which had an air of softness (*ṭarāwah*) to it. I was astonished because of the softness of his garb and waited until he had completed his prayer (*ṣalāt*). Then I said, 'Peace be with you', and he replied, 'And with you be peace, Abū Muḥammad. You were astonished because of my soft garb which I wear since nine hundred years. (Clothed) in it I met 'Īsā b Maryam and Muḥammad and believed in them both. Know, Abū Muḥammad, that the clothes (*ṭiyāb*) are not worn out by the bodies (*abdān*), but they are worn out by the consumption of illicit possessions and the obduracy in sinful actions.' I replied, 'But who are you?' And he said: 'I am one of those about whom God said: It has been revealed to me that a company of *ḡinn* gave ear (72,1).'"<sup>119</sup>

According to a note in Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb* Tustarī, every Friday, visits this stone castle, situated in the mythical town 'Imād of the country 'Ad in Yemen, "which holds sarcophagi (*ṣanādiq*) made of stone . . . the tombs of the prophets (*qubūr al-anbiyā'*) wherein their bodies are perfectly preserved until this our day, though concealed from the eyes of men (*abṣār al-'ibād*)."<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, Makkī relates that Tustarī "climbed the mountain of Qāf and saw Noah's ark (*safīnah Nūḥ*) cast on top of it, and used to describe the mountain and the ark."<sup>120</sup>

Makkī also cites in his *Qūt al-qulūb*, Tustarī's visionary encounter of three hundred prophets in paradise: "I had a vision as if I was made to enter paradise (*ḡannah*) and there met three hundred prophets. I asked them, 'what shall I fear that you feared in this world?' They answered me, 'the evil outcome (*su' al-ḥātimah*).'"<sup>121</sup>

Finally in the *Tafsīr*, Muḥammad b Sālim relates: "I was in Sahl's house, when two men came to him after the afternoon prayer (*ṣalāt al-aṣr*) and began to speak to him. I said to myself, I will stay around at the house but I did not see the two return. I went to my cubicle

<sup>118</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10.

<sup>119</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 110f.; Ṣa'rānī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 67.

<sup>120</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 102; Bāḥarzi, *Aurād al-aḥbāb*, 344.

<sup>121</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 139; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, IV, 175.

(*manzil*) to prepare some supper (*ʿaṣā*) for the duo. When I returned to Sahl's house, I did not see anyone with him. So I asked about their whereabouts (*ḥāl*). He answered that one of them performs the prayer at sunset (*maḡrib*) to the east and the other to the west. They only come to me as visitors (*zāʾirīn*).<sup>122</sup>

There is no doubt that Tustarī was a mystic who drew inspiration from the world of spiritual imagination and mythical visions. Yet the legends that spread in the circles of his followers emphasize the pious paraphernalia around Tustarī's visions rather than the essential experience of the visionary himself. According to these stories Tustarī prayed in the presence of open fire and was favoured by a mysterious intimacy with wild beasts and birds. He hosts lions in his house at Tustar, keeps a viper in his room and rides across the water on a mysterious mare. A pigeon dropping dead from a roof announces to him the death of a fellow Ṣūfī and a nightingale becomes his steady companion in Baṣrah until the day of his death.

"Abū 'Abd Allāh As-Sālimī said that one day he entered the house of Sahl, the ascetic and his master (*imām-i ḥwud*). He saw before him a golden basin (*ṭaṣīṭ*) holding fire (*ātīṣ*) and green wood (*ud-i tar*) burning in it. When he saw this he fell against the wall and swooned. When he regained consciousness, Sahl said to him: what happened to you? Can you not stand the companionship of kings? In seclusion (*ḥalwat*) when the kings are in private, do not enter in their presence unless you can stand it."<sup>123</sup>

"Another time I saw Sahl while I was praying in his presence by the fire (*nār*). One of his disciples recited sūrah *Furqān*. When he reached the verse, "the true kingdom shall belong to the All-Merciful" (25, 26), Sahl trembled and almost fell down. I asked him about that because I had never known anything like it with him. He replied: I grew weak."<sup>124</sup>

In comment on Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic phrase, "O fire, be coolness and safety for Abraham" (21, 69) 'Umar b Wāṣil Al-'Anbarī relates: "That night I was with Sahl and I pulled out the wick of the lamp (*fatīlat as-sirāḡ*) and thus held a small object with my fingers that caused me pain. Sahl looked at me and put his finger (there) for about two hours. He did not feel pain because of it and his finger was not affected in any way, as he was saying, I take refuge in God from the fire."<sup>125</sup>

Sarrāḡ reports himself, along with a group of people, to have visited Tustarī's house at Tustar which the people used to call "the house of the lions (*bait as-sabu'*)", because "the lions used to come to Sahl b 'Abd Allāh. He made them enter his house, hosted them, fed them meat, and showed them out. God knows best about this (story), but I did not meet a single righteous man of Tustar denying it."<sup>126</sup>

An anonymous Ṣūfī relates to have entered Tustarī's house and states: "In the house, I saw a viper (*ḥayyah*). I began to advance a foot and retract the other. But he (Tustarī) said, come in, nobody reaches the reality of faith (*ḥaqīqat al-imān*) as long as he fears anything on the face of the earth."<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 133.

<sup>123</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 117 (101); scil. Muḥammad b Sālim.

<sup>124</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 292f.

<sup>125</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>126</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 316; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 674.

<sup>127</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 447.

The *Tafsīr* that is ascribed to Tustarī has Aḥmad b Sālim relate two curious episodes about Tustarī and a mysterious mare: "Aḥmad b Sālim said, I was cultivating the land, when I saw Sahl on a mare (*faras*) above the waters of the Euphrates. He (also) said, one day I entered Sahl's house which had a small door and saw a mare standing in there. I pulled back in fear and wondered how it had entered by this small door. At that point Sahl saw me and said, come back. So I returned, yet did not see any trace (of the mare)." <sup>128</sup>

Someone else narrates that one day Tustarī was seated in the mosque when a pigeon dropped to the ground, exhausted by the heat. This induced Tustarī to remark, "Šāh b Šuḡa' Al-Kirmānī has just died, if God so willed it. The (people) took note of it, and it turned out to have happened as he had said." <sup>129</sup>

The *Tafsīr* that is attributed to Tustarī records the story of Tustarī's nightingale at the end of the book. The story reads: "Sahl entered the house of a man of the servants of Baṣrah (*'ibād al-Baṣrah*), and saw with him a nightingale (*bulbulah*) in a cage. He asked, to whom belongs this nightingale?, and was answered, to this young man who is his son. Sahl pulled out a *dīnār* from his sleeve and said, my son what do you like more, the *dīnār* or the nightingale? He answered, the *dīnār*. So he paid him the *dīnār* and set the nightingale free. The nightingale settled down on the wall of the house until Sahl left. Then it began to flutter above his head until Sahl entered his own house. There was in his yard a lotus tree (*sidrah*). The nightingale settled in the tree and did not abandon it until he died." When Tustarī was carried to the grave, the nightingale fluttered over his bier during the funeral procession to his grave. It hurried in the vicinity until he was buried and the people had dispersed from the grave. Then it beat its beak against the grave "until it died and was buried at his side". <sup>130</sup>

Tustarī himself seems to have observed a restrained attitude towards the miraculous features of his life. When people credited him with walking on water without his feet being so much as moistened, he simply referred them to the muezzin of the mosque, who one morning spotted Tustarī as he fell into a pool and rescued him from drowning. <sup>131</sup> The dialogue with Abū Ḥamzah Al-Bazzāz (d. 289/902) about the emotional dangers of the mystic life and the conversation with Abū Ya'qūb As-Sūsī (d. end of 3rd/9th century) about the futile display of spiritual feelings demonstrate Tustarī's lack of appreciation for the outward show of inward states. <sup>132</sup> He also voiced strong disapproval about the ecstasy of a certain Abū 'Ubaid Al-Ḥawwāṣ who drowned himself in the Tigris River:

"Abū 'Ubaid Al-Ḥawwāṣ used to exclaim at Bāḡdād, 'I am hungry for Your remembrance (*dīk*), my appetite is not sated; I am thirsty for Your remembrance, my thirst is not quenched; I am yearning for Him who sees me but whom I do not see. Thereupon, he went to the Tigris and, with clothes on, threw himself into the river. He plunged into the water in one spot and came to the surface in another, still exclaiming, I am hungry for Your remembrance, my appetite is not sated; I am thirsty for Your remembrance, my thirst is not quenched; I am

<sup>128</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 65.

<sup>129</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 486; 'Aṭṭār, *Taḍkirat al-auliya'*, I, 256; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 158.

<sup>130</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 133.

<sup>131</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 703; 'Aṭṭār, *Taḍkirat al-auliya'*, I, 255; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 157f.

<sup>132</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 55; 79; Sarraḡ, *Luma'*, 193.

<sup>133</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 61.

yearning for Him who sees me but whom I do not see. And the people wept on the bank of the river (*šatt*).” Someone reported the incident to Tustarī, who was not impressed by this show of theopathic ecstasy and replied, “God alone is the goal (*maqṣūd*), He alone is the goal”.<sup>133</sup>

Throughout his life Tustarī displayed a controlled conduct during his prayer devotions and ecstatic experiences. Only the weakness of old age broke down the barriers that confined his mystical auditions and revealed the raptures that seized him during Qur’ān recitals. His general attitude towards the emotions of a mystic’s life is best expressed by his succinct statements: “Every ecstatic experience (*wağd*) to which the Book (*kitāb*) and *Sunnah* do not bear witness is false.”<sup>134</sup> “No spiritual event (*wārid*) happens to someone except when he swallows it with the strength of his state (*ḥāl*).”<sup>135</sup> “Not everyone who claims recollection of God (*dīkr*) actually remembers God.”<sup>136</sup> Sarrāğ’s *Luma’*, mainly on the authority of Muḥammad b Sālim, has preserved a variety of reminiscences about Tustarī’s conduct in prayer and rapture. To quote a few examples:

Sarrāğ quotes Tustarī’s statement, “My state (*ḥāl*) during ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) and before entering ritual prayer is the very same”, and comments, “he watched his heart (*qalb*) and kept God before his eyes (*yurāqibu Allāh*) with his inmost being (*sirr*) before he entered the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*). Then he performed the ritual prayer with the presence of his heart (*ḥuḍūr qalbihi*) and the collectedness of his energy (*ḡam’ hammibi*). He entered into ritual prayer with the intention (*ma’nā*) he had before prayer, so that his state (*ḥāl*) during prayer was the same as before prayer. Thus, his state before and after auditive experience (*samā’*) was the very same thing.”<sup>137</sup>

“It is the sign of an upright man (*‘alāmat aṣ-ṣādiq*) to have a follower (*ṭābi*) from among the *ḡinn*. When the time of prayer (*waqt aṣ-ṣalāt*) comes, he urges him to pray, and if he is asleep, he awakens him.”<sup>138</sup>

“Sahl is said to have grown weak so that he was almost unable to get up from his place. But when the time of prayer (*waqt aṣ-ṣalāt*) came around, his physical strength would return to him so that he would stand like a pole (*watad*) in the prayer niche (*miḥrāb*). When he had completed his prayer, he would return to the state of his weakness, unable to get up from his place.”<sup>139</sup>

(Muḥammad b Sālim) recalls: “I served Sahl for sixty years, yet I did not see him change while listening (*kāna yasma’u*) to (a repetitive formula of God’s) commemoration (*dīkr*), to Qur’ān recital, or any other recitation (*ḡair dālik*). But in his last years when a man read in his presence, the Qur’ānic verse ‘therefore today no ransom shall be taken from you’ (57, 15), I saw him tremble and he almost fell down. When he returned to the state of his sobriety, I asked him about that. He replied: ‘yes, my friend, we grew weak.’”<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 104.

<sup>135</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 293.

<sup>136</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 219.

<sup>137</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 293.

<sup>138</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 152.

<sup>139</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 155.

<sup>140</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma’*, 292.

Muḥammad b Sālim said: "Ecstasy (*wağd*) used to overpower Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, so that he remained for 24 or 25 days without eating food. And he used to perspire at the severe cold in winter while he was only clothed in a single shirt. When he was asked about anything pertaining to mystical knowledge (*'ilm*), he would answer, 'do not question me, for in this mystical moment (*waqt*), you do not benefit from my utterance'."<sup>141</sup>

Towards the end of his life Tustarī suffered from the chronic illness of hemorrhoids (blennorrhoea).<sup>142</sup> The physical weakness, caused by this illness and by old age, seems to have led to his death at Baṣrah in the month of Muḥarram of the year 283/896 when he had reached the age of about eighty years.<sup>143</sup> This is the correct date of his death, although Sulamī, Quṣairī, Ibn Al-Ğauzī, Sam'ānī, Yāqūt and Ibn Al-Kaṭīr also mention the alternate year of 273/886.<sup>144</sup> Ibn Al-Aṭīr cites 233/847, while Sam'ānī and Ibn Ḥallikān add 293/905 as possible dates of Tustarī's demise.<sup>145</sup> The obvious mistakes of 233/847 and 293/905 are probably due to scribal errors. The indications which argue for 283/896 and against 273/886 as the year of Tustarī's death are the following. Most of the Šūfī and historical sources prefer the year 283/896 over any other date. The Mālikī judge of Baṣrah, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad At-Tustarī who was born in 273/886, is stated by 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā to have been ten years old when his relative Sahl At-Tustarī died.<sup>146</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Aṣ'at As-Siğzī, one of Tustarī's associates mentions 275/888 as the year in which he heard Tustarī teach.<sup>147</sup> Ismā'il b 'Alī Al-Ailī heard Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī teach at Baṣrah in the year 280/893.<sup>148</sup> Aḥmad b Sālim, who

<sup>141</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 307.

<sup>142</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 203f.; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 682; 704; 'Aṭṭār, *Taḍkirat al-auliya'*, I, 256; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 158.

<sup>143</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*, 113 (97); Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, II, 150; tr. deSlane, I, 603; Ḍahabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Al-'Ibar fī ḥabar man ġabar*, 5 vols., Kuwait 1960–66, II, 70; Ğāmī, Nūr Ad-Dīn 'Abd Ar-Rahmān b Aḥmad, *Nafaḥāt al-uns min ḥaḍarāt al-quds* (ed. M. Tauḥīdipūr), Tehrān 1337s, p. 66; Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-ġanān*, II, 200; Ibn 'Imād, *Šaḍarāt*, II, 182.

<sup>144</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 199; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 83; Ibn Al-Ğauzī, Abu'l-Farağ 'Abd Ar-Rahmān, *Al-Muntaẓam fī ta'riḥ al-mulūk wa'l-umam* (ed. F. Krenkow), 6 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1357/1938–1359/1940, V/2, 163; *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwāh*, 4 vols., Ḥaidarābād 1355/1936–1356/1937, IV, 46; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 106b; Yāqūt, Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ar-Rūmī, *Mu'ğam al-buldān* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld), 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–73, II, 31; Ibn Al-Kaṭīr, Ismā'il b 'Umar, *Al-Bidāyah wa'n-nihāyah fī t-ta'riḥ*, 14 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1358/1939, XI, 74.

<sup>145</sup> Ibn Al-Aṭīr, *Lubāb*, I, 176; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 106b; Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, II, 150; tr. de Slane, I, 603.

<sup>146</sup> 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, *Tartīb al-madārik*, III, 289.

<sup>147</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>148</sup> Ḍahabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Al-'Ulū li'l-'alī al-ğaffār fī ṣaḥīḥ al-aḥbār*, Madīnah 1388/1968, p. 148.

studied under Tustarī was born at the earliest a few years before 270/884.<sup>149</sup> Ḍahabī notes that Tustarī died in the same year as Ibn Ḥarrāš (d. 283/896).<sup>150</sup>

The stories of Tustarī's last words on his death bed and in his grave seem to be motivated by the apologetic assurance that Tustarī died a Muslim. When 'Umar b Wāṣil, a close disciple of Tustarī, began to wash Tustarī's corpse, the dead body recited the Muslim profession of God's oneness,<sup>151</sup> or by another account, raised the right forefinger in the symbolic gesture for the Muslim profession of faith.<sup>152</sup> Again, some time after his death, the dead Tustarī, speaking out of his tomb, is said to have recited the Muslim creed: "there is no god save God (*lā ilāha illa Allāh*)."<sup>153</sup>

'Aṭṭār's *Tadkirat al-auliya'* depicts Tustarī, shortly before his death, as appointing a certain Zoroastrian by the name of Šād-i Dil to be his successor in presiding over his circle of four hundred disciples. According to this spurious account, Šād-i Dil put off his Magian hat and cut his Magian girdle, recited the Muslim profession of faith, and began to preach in Tustarī's place.<sup>154</sup>

Anṣārī's account, on the other hand, records Tustarī's approval of the spiritual succession of Ġunaid. "When Sahl-i Tustarī was about to leave this world, he said, is there anybody left to discourse on this (mystical) knowledge (*'ulūm*)? The (bystanders) answered, in Baḡdād there is a young man (*ḡawān*) by the name of Ġunaid. He replied, has Ġunaid come to the fore?, that is to say, has he come to public notice (*padīd āmad*)? They said, yes he has. Sahl prostrated in gratitude (*suḡūd-i šukr*) and gave up his spirit (*ḡān*)."<sup>155</sup>

Tustarī's grave at Baṣrah seems to have survived for many centuries. In 726/1326 and again in 748/1348 the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 770/1368) saw Tustarī's tomb (*qabr*), with the date of his death inscribed upon it, inside the old wall of Baṣrah.<sup>156</sup> He also relates that the people travelling by boat past Tustarī's cell (*muta'abbad*) between Baṣrah and its harbour,

<sup>149</sup> Ḍahabī, *Ibar*, II, 320; *Ta'riḥ al-islām*, cf. H. F. Amedroz, "Notes on some Šūfī Lives", *JRAS* 1912, pp. 573 f.

<sup>150</sup> Ḍahabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Tadkirat al-ḥuffāz*, Ḥaidarābād 1955–58, p. 685.

<sup>151</sup> Dailamī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'ala'l-lām al-ma'tūf* (ed. J. C. Vadet), Cairo 1962, p. 135.

<sup>152</sup> Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 123; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Šūfīs*, 162.

<sup>153</sup> 'Aṭṭār, *Tadkirat al-auliya'*, I, 268; *Muslim Saints*, 160.

<sup>154</sup> 'Aṭṭār, *Tadkirat al-auliya'*, I, 267 f.; Arberry, *Muslim Saints*, 158 f.

<sup>155</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-šūfiyyah*, 168 (149).

<sup>156</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah*, II, 15; IV, 312; Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, II, 279 f.

Ubullah, drink from the water of the river facing it and pray at the same time for the blessings of the saint (*walī*).<sup>157</sup> In 617/1220, according to the note of Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b Muḥammad Al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632), the Spanish Muslim Naḡīb Ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Al-'Azīz Al-Laḥmī was buried at Baṣrah "next to the grave of Sahl At-Tustarī".<sup>158</sup>

### 3. Tustarī's associates and disciples

In two major articles, F. Meier has traced the development of the master-disciple relationship in Šūfism.<sup>159</sup> In Meier's view, the Šūfī master of the 3rd/9th century presents himself foremost as a teaching master (*šaiḥ at-ta'lim*) while, from the 5th/11th century onward, he takes on the predominant features of a novice master (*šaiḥ at-tarbiyah*). Similarly, the Šūfī disciple of the 3rd/9th century is a pupil (*tilmīd*) and companion (*ṣāḥib*) who, for the purpose of instruction, joins his tutor (*ustād*) by personal association (*ṣuḥbah*) whereas, from the 5th/11th century onward, he is a postulant (*murīd*) and novice who, for the purpose of education, cleaves to his director (*muršid*) by affiliation (*silsilah*). The transition in the master-disciple relationship from the former type (teaching master and pupil, instruction and association) to the latter type (novice master and postulant, education and affiliation) has been demonstrated in the Šūfī milieu of Naisābūr of the 3rd/9th to 5th/11th centuries.<sup>160</sup> The incipient stages of this transition cannot yet be observed in the Baṣran environment among Tustarī's group of disciples, although Tustarī was a tutor who also devoted his attention to the ascetic training of his disciples.

A clear cut distinction between Tustarī's occasional associates and his actual disciples is difficult to establish. But, roughly speaking, Tustarī's associates are those who came into definite contact with Tustarī at some juncture of their lives and are recorded in the sources as meeting him (*laqiya, ra'ā*). Tustarī's disciples in the strict sense are those explicitly cited in the sources as Tustarī's pupils who adopted his teachings or received part of their formation at his hand (*ṣaḥiba, talmāda*). Some of them chose Tustarī as their master for a very short duration, while others served him for many years and were thoroughly formed by him. A number of them are

<sup>157</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah*, II, 17; Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, II, 281.

<sup>158</sup> Maqqarī, Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b Muḥammad, *Analectes sur l'histoire des Arabes d'Espagne* (ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl, Wright), 2 vols., Leiden 1855–61, I, 616.

<sup>159</sup> F. Meier, "Quṣayrīs Tartīb as-sulūk", *Oriens* 16 (1963), pp. 1–39; "Ḥurāsān und das Ende der klassischen Šūfik", *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 368 (1971), pp. 545–570.

<sup>160</sup> Meier, *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 368 (1971), pp. 545–570.



only known to the sources by their names and some episode recounting their meeting with Tustarī, while others, who became Ṣūfis of renown after Tustarī's death, secured a place for themselves in the Ṣūfī hagiographies. Men merely mentioned as transmitters of aphorisms attributed to Tustarī, and narrators of anecdotes about his life and work are not taken into account.

Although Tustarī viewed himself as a Ṣūfī *ṣaiḥ*, he was well aware that God alone is the true and ultimate Master. Tustarī's emphasis on God as the true master (*maulā*), the Lord and Patron, who takes charge of man, his protégé, throughout his life is best illustrated by the example of one of Tustarī's disciples. This man approaches Tustarī with the wish of becoming his disciple (*urīdu an aṣḥabaka*) and receives the reply to take God as his master: "when one of us dies, whose disciple shall the other be? So be His disciple right now (*fal-yashabbhu al-ān*)."<sup>161</sup> This directive rests on his awareness of "God's taking care of man (*Allāh qā'im 'alaika*)",<sup>162</sup> as his witness and guardian, a basic notion of Tustarī's conception of the recollection of God (*dīkr*), and is also expressed in the previously quoted statement of Tustarī that "God is his daily diet (*qūtuhu Allāh*)."<sup>163</sup> Finally, it is summed up in one of Tustarī's maxims: "If a man closes his eyes to God but for the twinkling of an eye, he will not be guided for the length of his life."<sup>164</sup>

The same attitude of being God's disciple is evident also in Tustarī's conception of turning to God (*taubah*, repentance) and of trust in God (*tawakkul*). For he defines trust in God by "giving oneself up to God (*al-istirsāl ma'a Allāh*) as it be His will"<sup>165</sup> and by "a heart (*qalb*) living with God, without attachment (*'alāqah*) to anyone else."<sup>166</sup> He also sees the essence of trust in God as consisting in man's being totally turned to God: "Trust in God is totally face (*wağh*) which has no back (*qafā*) and only becomes true for buried bodies (*ahl al-maqābir*)."<sup>167</sup> Finally, he likens it to the corpse in the hands of the mortician: "The first stage (*maqām*) of trust in God is that man (*'abd*) is in God's hands like the dead body in the hands of (his) washer who turns him as he pleases, while he has neither motion (*ḥarakah*) nor planning (*tadbīr*)."<sup>168</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 176; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 576; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, II, 223.

<sup>162</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 45; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, I, 191.

<sup>163</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, 206a; Abū Nū'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 208; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 46.

<sup>164</sup> Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 36; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, 46.

<sup>165</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 52; Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 72; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, 92; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 370.

<sup>166</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 372.

<sup>167</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 52.

<sup>168</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 368.

Tustarī's description of a man possessed of mystical knowledge (*'ālim*) also emphasizes God as the true Master with whom the heart of the mystic is in direct contact: "The *'ālim* sits down in silence and raises his heart (*qalb*) to his Master (*maulā*). He is in want of His assistance of good success (*ḥusn taufiqihī*) and asks Him to inspire him (*an yulhimahu*) with what is right. Questioned about something, he utters what his Master (*maulā*) disclosed to him. In the state of his silence and his looking out towards his Master (*sayyid*), He affects the *'ālim* to be in need of trust in God (*tawakkul*) and in expectation of the One who assigns trust (*wakīl*) in whatever matter may come upon him."<sup>169</sup>

Fully aware of the unique role of God as man's Master, Tustarī, nevertheless, took a very active hand in the instruction and formation of his disciples. Tustarī's instruction seems to have proceeded mainly by question and answer in discussion and discourse as evidenced by the general tenor and linguistic structure of the majority of his sayings. As a rule, Tustarī addressed a small circle of disciples: "Abū Muḥammad used to assemble around himself (*kāna yuḡlisu ilaihi*) five, six, or as many as ten disciples."<sup>170</sup> The sessions seem to have taken place by day and by night,<sup>171</sup> and the students probably came to Tustarī's home for their instruction, since there is no reference to a mosque or any other specific meeting place. Some of these pupils joined Tustarī in the years of their adolescence, as for instance Ḥallāḡ and Aḥmad b Sālim, while another, Muḥammad b Sālim, served Tustarī for a period of thirty to as many as sixty years.<sup>172</sup>

Tustarī did not only look after the intellectual and mystical instruction of his disciples, but he also directed their conduct and ascetic practice with a severe hand. Whether or not Tustarī laid down written instructions for his associates, he left no doubt about the stern education a disciple had to face under his direction, and "said to a youngster (*šābb*) who was his disciple, if you are afraid of wild beasts then don't be my disciple (*fa-lā taṣḥabnī*)."<sup>173</sup> He also instructed his disciples (*aṣḥāb*) how to pray: "Say in your prayer (*du'ā*), O my God, if you cook me then I am a kettle (*qidr*), and if You roast me then I am a skewer (*saffūd*). There is no escape from Your being aware (of me), so graciously grant me gnosis of You (*ma'rifataka*)."<sup>174</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 30.

<sup>170</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 31.

<sup>171</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>172</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 177; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 654; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 258 (238); Yāfi'i, *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥin*, 220.

<sup>173</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 178, 316; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 578.

<sup>174</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

Tustarī's disciples (*aṣḥāb*), whom Makkī also calls his brethren (*iḥwān*), were urged by the master to drink much water as a means of mortification<sup>175</sup> and to shave each other's head.<sup>176</sup> Although it appears to have been Tustarī's rule that "my disciples (*aṣḥāb-i man*) do not eat meat,"<sup>177</sup> he ordered them to eat meat on Fridays so as to regain strength for worship.<sup>178</sup> They were also instructed to observe seven basic principles (*uṣūl*): "Our principles are seven, cleaving to the Book of God, following the example of God's Prophet, eating lawful food, desisting from wrongdoing, avoiding sins, repentance and pursuit of God's rights."<sup>179</sup> Another passage enumerates only three principles (*uṣūl*) of Tustarī's Ṣūfī path (*madḥab*): eating lawful food, following the example of the Prophet, and purity of intention (*iḥlāṣ an-niyyah*).<sup>180</sup>

The sources keep no specific record about the regular sessions of Tustarī and his disciples. However, some references to Tustarī's meeting with fellow Ṣūfīs represent typical illustrations for the subject matter that was discussed in Tustarī's circle. There are Tustarī's dialogue with Abū Ḥamzah Al-Bazzāz about the emotional dangers of the mystic life and his conversation with Abū Ya'qūb As-Sūsī about the futile display of spiritual feeling as well as his reply to Ibn Masrūq's interview about his ascetic way of life and Ibn Al-Ğallā's reminiscences about Tustarī's mystical diction.

Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b Ibrāhīm Al-Bazzāz (d. 289/902), a Ṣūfī of Baġdād,<sup>181</sup> comes to Tustarī's house and engages him in a discussion about mystic intoxication (*sukr*), enumerating four kinds of intoxicants: wine (*ṣarāb*), youths (*ṣabāb*), possessions (*māl*) and power (*salṭanah*). In reply Tustarī points to the intoxication of a learned man (*ʿālim*) who is in love with this world, and that of a man in prayer (*ʿābid*) who loves to attract attention to himself.<sup>182</sup>

Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b Hamdān As-Sūsī, a Ṣūfī of Sūs in Ḥūzistān and the master of Abū Ya'qūb An-Nahraġūrī (d. 330/941), lived at Baġdād and Baṣrah, and died at Ubullah towards the end of the 3rd/9th century.<sup>183</sup> During a discussion at Arraġān on the Tāb River, which borders Eastern

<sup>175</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 146.

<sup>176</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 148.

<sup>177</sup> Ğāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 242.

<sup>178</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 417.

<sup>179</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 43f.; Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 217f.; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 203; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 190.

<sup>180</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 101.

<sup>181</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baġdād*, I, 390–94; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 294–97; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 320ff.; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 126ff. (109ff.).

<sup>182</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 55.

<sup>183</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*. 278 (257); Ğāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 229.

Ḥūzistān, Sūsī and Tustarī agree in their disapproval of the distress voiced by some anonymous *faqīr* about the loss of spiritual emotion (*ḥāl*) which prevails over his distress about the loss of faith (*īmān*).<sup>184</sup>

Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Masrūq (d. 298/910), a Šūfī of Ṭūs who died in Baḡdād, visited Ray and became a friend of Ġunaid and Ġurairī at Baḡdād though he might not have belonged to Ġunaid's circle of disciples.<sup>185</sup> Ibn Masrūq questions Tustarī about the austere practices of his youth and the moderation of his maturity. Makkī reports in the *Qūt al-qulūb*:

"Al-Ḥasan b Yaḥyā Al-Bustī told me that Ibn Masrūq said: I met Sahl b 'Abd Allāh. When I entered his house he welcomed me and embraced me in a gesture of affection (*irādah*) and humbleness (*taḍallul*). So I said to him: I would like you to describe for me your (Šūfī) beginnings (*bidāyah*) and how you kept it alive. He replied: each year (I spent) three *dirhams*; I used to buy molasses for one *dirham*, butter for the other and a small amount of rice for the third *dirham*. Then I mixed it and accurately (divided the cake) into 360 crumbs (*ukrah*). Every night I took a crumb to break my fast with it. Then I asked him: what is your practice at the present time? He answered: I eat without restriction and restraint."<sup>186</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b Yaḥyā b Al-Ġallā' Ad-Dimašqī (d. 306/918), a native of Baḡdād who lived at Ramlah and Damascus, is counted among the outstanding Šūfī masters of Syria.<sup>187</sup> A disciple of his father Abū Yaḥyā Al-Ġallā', Abū Turāb An-Naḥṣabī (d. 245/859), Du'n-Nūn Al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) and Abū 'Ubaid Al-Busrī (d. 245/859), he was considered in his time as equal in stature to Ġunaid at Baḡdād and Abū 'Uṭmān Al-Ḥirī (d. 298/910) at Naisābūr.<sup>188</sup> At some point of his life he met Du'n-Nūn at Makkah: "At Makkah I lived as a metic (*muḡāwiran*) with Du'n-Nūn and we practised starvation for many days without a thing being disclosed to us."<sup>189</sup> Ibn Al-Ġallā' left an important statement which differentiates Tustarī's approach to Šūfism from that of Du'n-Nūn and defines Tustarī's mysticism as marked by the quality of symbolic language. For he recalls: "I met Du'n-Nūn, his was the clear speech (*ibārah*), I met Sahl (At-Tustarī), his was the allusion (*iṣārah*), and I met Bišr b Al-Ḥārīt, his was scrupulousness (*wara'*)."<sup>190</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 79; Sarraḡ, *Luma'*, 193.

<sup>185</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 233–37; Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, V, 100ff.; Ibn Al-Ġauzī, *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwah*, II, 104.

<sup>186</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 52; cf. IV, 60f.

<sup>187</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 166ff.; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 75; IV, 20; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 314f.; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 142f.; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 232 (214), Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, V, 213ff.; Ibn Al-Ġauzī, *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwah*, II, 443f.

<sup>188</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 166.

<sup>189</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, V, 214.

<sup>190</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 70; Ibn Al-Ġallā' is apparently no relation of Abū Bakr b Al-Ġallā', a master (*ṣaiḥ*) of Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī, cf. *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 114; IV, 14, 54.

Abū Ḥamzah Al-Bazzāz, Abū Ya'qūb As-Sūsī, Ibn Masrūq and Ibn Al-Ġallā' appear to have been visitors of Tustarī who, during a short duration, profited from his teaching in a limited way. The situation is different with regard to Šubaiḥī and Iṣṭaḥrī, both Šūfī theologians living at Baṣrah, who came into personal contact with Tustarī and had a similar Šūfī outlook. For Makkī and Ġazzālī count Tustarī, Šubaiḥī and Iṣṭaḥrī among the only six of the more than hundred theologians (*mutakallim*) at Baṣrah who discoursed on the mystical stages (*maqāmāt*) and states (*aḥwāl*) and on the knowledge of gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and certainty (*yaqīn*).<sup>191</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh Al-Ḥusain b 'Abd Allāh b Bakr Aṣ-Šubaiḥī, a fairly inconspicuous Šūfī and ascetic, is said to have spent thirty years praying in the cellar of his house at Baṣrah, "in a hole (*sarab*) of his house".<sup>192</sup> Abū Nu'aim depicts him as "a man possessed of an unshakable mind and a clear, lucid doctrine (*kalām*)" who compiled works on the mystical states of the Šūfis that were marked by their subtle definitions and symbolic language.<sup>193</sup> On the one hand, the aphorisms of Šubaiḥī cited in the Šūfī sources suggest an affinity of Šūfī ideas between Šubaiḥī and Tustarī.<sup>194</sup> On the other hand, Tustarī reproaches one of his own disciples who, apparently under the influence of certain associates (*aṣḥāb*) of Šubaiḥī, has visions of Satan (*Iblīs*) seated in God's place on the divine throne ('*arṣ*) robed in lights (*anwār*).<sup>195</sup> Šubaiḥī had to leave Baṣrah and settled at Sūs in Northern Ḥūzistān when the Šāfi'ī jurist Abū 'Abd Allāh Az-Zubairī accused him of unbelief (*kaffarahū*) and agitated the populace against him.<sup>196</sup> As the reason for the accusation and subsequent expulsion from Baṣrah, Sarrāġ cites Šubaiḥī's public discussion of certain points pertaining to the knowledge ('*ilm*) of the divine names (*asma'*) and attributes (*ṣiḡāt*) and to the science of the letters ('*ilm al-ḥurūf*').<sup>197</sup> Tustarī apparently lent Šubaiḥī his moral support by telling him, "we opened the bag of asafetida (*ġirāb al-ḥiltīt*) for the people, but they were unable to bear with us, and yet you did not discuss with them anything they did not know."<sup>198</sup> But it seems unlikely that Šubaiḥī was expelled from Baṣrah during Tustarī's lifetime since Abū Nu'aim records that his father was Šubaiḥī's pupil at

<sup>191</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 32; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, I, 84.

<sup>192</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 332; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyyā'*, X, 354.

<sup>193</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyyā'*, X, 354.

<sup>194</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 332–335.

<sup>195</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 428.

<sup>196</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 407 (lacuna) = Arberry, *Pages*, 9.

<sup>197</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 407 (lacuna) = Arberry, *Pages*, 9.

<sup>198</sup> Sarrāġ, *Luma'*, 407 (lacuna) = Arberry, *Pages*, 9.

Baṣrah before he was exiled to Sūs.<sup>199</sup> If this is the correct statement then Ṣubaiḥī must have died about 315/927.

Abū 'Amr 'Abd Ar-Raḥīm b Mūsā Al-Iṣṭaḥrī, a Ṣūfī from Iṣṭaḥr in the region of Šīrāz, appears to have been a younger contemporary of Tustarī, since Makkī and Ġazzālī rank "Abū Muḥammad Sahl (At-Tustarī), Ṣubaiḥī and 'Abd Ar-Raḥīm (Al-Iṣṭaḥrī)" among the mystical theologians at Baṣrah.<sup>200</sup> Iṣṭaḥrī, who is mentioned as having met (*laqiya*) Tustarī,<sup>201</sup> joined Tustarī's service (*bi-ḥidmat-i Sahl raft*) after a visit to the retreat (*ribāt*) at 'Abbādān.<sup>202</sup> Although rarely mentioned in the major Ṣūfī sources, Iṣṭaḥrī was well-known within the Ṣūfī environment of the region of Šīrāz.<sup>203</sup> Ibn Ḥafīf Aš-Šīrāzī is said to have received the Ṣūfī garb (*ḥirqah*) from Iṣṭaḥrī's disciple Abū Ġa'far Al-Ḥaddā' (d. 341/952) whose line of affiliation is linked with Iṣṭaḥrī – Abū Turāb An-Naḥṣabī (d. 245/859) – Ṣaqīq Al-Balḥī (d. 194/809) and Ibrāhīm b Adham (d. 160/776).<sup>204</sup> Abū Ġa'far Al-Ḥaddā' also depicts Iṣṭaḥrī's spiritual direction: "I used to receive a fine education from Abū 'Amr Al-Iṣṭaḥrī. Whenever a thought presented itself to me, I went to Iṣṭaḥr. Sometimes he gave me an answer to my query without having asked him, sometimes I asked him (explicitly) and he gave me the answer. Then I was busy travelling; so he would answer me from Iṣṭaḥr when a problem occurred to my inmost being (*sirr*), addressing me in my concerns."<sup>205</sup> Iṣṭaḥrī travelled to 'Irāq and Ḥiğāz, and is known to have visited Syria.<sup>206</sup> He also had the habit of "listening to the praise of the mountains (*tasbiḥ al-ğibāl*)", the practice of reproducing in the soul of the mystic the praise of God that is proclaimed by the cosmos.<sup>207</sup> There are also several references to his vision of Abū Turāb An-Naḥṣabī whose dead body he saw in the desert, untouched by wild beasts: "I saw Abū Turāb An-Naḥṣabī in the desert standing up, dead, and with nothing supporting him."<sup>208</sup> Ruwaim (d. 303/915) and his associates

<sup>199</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 354.

<sup>200</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 32; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, I, 84.

<sup>201</sup> Šīrāzī, Mu'in Ad-Din Abū'l-Qāsim Ġunaid, *Šadd al-izār*, Tehrān 1328 s, p. 51.

<sup>202</sup> Dailamī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf* (ed. A. Schimmel), Ankara 1955, p. 151 f.

<sup>203</sup> Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 86–89; 114; 143; 149–153, 248 f.; 253; Ġamī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 242; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-ṣūfiyyah*, 128 (112), 456 (412); Šīrāzī, *Šadd al-izār*, 50 ff.

<sup>204</sup> Zarkūb, Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b Abī'l-Ḥair, *Šīrāznāmah*, Tehrān, 1310 s, 1350/1931, p. 96.

<sup>205</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 685.

<sup>206</sup> Šīrāzī, *Šadd al-izār*, 50.

<sup>207</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr, *Maṣrab al-arwāḥ*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 226 f.; 310; cf. Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 248 f.

<sup>208</sup> Sarrāğ, *Luma'*, 211; Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 123; Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, 178 f.; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 594; Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 114.

are mentioned as Iṣṭaḥrī's teachers (*ṣaḥība Ruwaiman wa-aṣkālāhu*).<sup>209</sup> Since Ruwaim is explicitly stated as having outlived Iṣṭaḥrī,<sup>210</sup> the latter probably died around the turn of the 3rd/9th to the 4th/10th century.

The sources quote about a dozen individuals as Tustarī's direct disciples. The most famous of them was the Šūfī Al-Ḥusain b Manṣūr Al-Ḥallāğ (d. 309/922) who became Tustarī's pupil at the age of sixteen and stayed with him from about 260/873 to 262/875 at Tustar. Since the life and mystical experience of Ḥallāğ as well as Tustarī's influence on his doctrine were studied in great detail by Massignon,<sup>211</sup> our work can dispense with any further inquiry. Another illustrious disciple of Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Al-Ḥasan b 'Alī b Ḥalaf Al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) has been examined by H. Laoust. Barbahārī was a well-known Ḥanbalī theologian, jurist and preacher at Bağdād. Educated in matters of religious law by the Ḥanbalī Abū Bakr Al-Marwazī (d. 275/888), Barbahārī also became Tustarī's disciple for some time.<sup>212</sup>

Two Šūfis, Ġurairī and Muzayyin, are mentioned in the sources as disciples of both Tustarī and Ġunaid (d. 298/910). Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain Al-Ġurairī "was one of the outstanding companions (*aṣḥāb*) of Ġunaid. He also was a disciple (*ṣaḥība*) of Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī."<sup>213</sup> After Ġunaid's death, Ġurairī presided in Ġunaid's place over the sessions of the Šūfī circle at Bağdād, "owing to the perfection of his mystical state (*tamām ḥālīhi*) and the soundness of his knowledge (*ṣiḥḥat 'ilmīhi*)."<sup>214</sup> The Šūfī primary sources preserve a series of Ġurairī's mystical statements and about fifty items of his commentary on Qur'ānic verses.<sup>215</sup> From the large number of his associates,<sup>216</sup> it appears that Ġurairī must have had a wide range of influence upon Šūfis active in the first half of the 4th/10th century. In 292/905 Ġurairī was met in Makkah by Abū Bakr Al-Kattānī who questioned him about his ascetic practice (*i'tikāf*).<sup>217</sup> Returning home from a pilgrimage to Makkah, Ġurairī died in 312/924 of thirst and exposure in the desert having been wounded

<sup>209</sup> Širāzī, *Ṣadd al-izār*, 50; Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 86.

<sup>210</sup> Širāzī, *Ṣadd al-izār*, 52; Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 89.

<sup>211</sup> Massignon, *SEI*, 127 f. (art. *Ḥallāğ*).

<sup>212</sup> H. Laoust, *El*<sup>2</sup>, I, 1039 f. (art. *Barbahārī*); Ibn Al-Farrā', *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, II, 18 ff.

<sup>213</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 133; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 293 (247).

<sup>214</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253 f.

<sup>215</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, ms. Br. Mus. Or. 9433, ff. 11 a, 28 a, 34 a, 38 b, 39 a, 42 b, 46 a, 48 b, 56 b, 59 b, 61 a, 65 b, 67 b, 77 b, 128 a, 132 a, 134 b, 135 a, 139 b, 147 a, 149 a, 159 a, 192 b, 198 a, 211 a, 232 a, 237 b, 242 b.

<sup>216</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 485, 454, 481, 500, 533, 542, 547.

<sup>217</sup> Ibn Al-Ğauzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-ṣafwah*, II, 252.

at Habīr (Muḥarrām 312/924) during the raid of the Qarāmiṭah on a caravan of pilgrims.<sup>218</sup>

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad Al-Muzayyin At-Tirmidī was a disciple of Tustarī who also became a disciple of Ġunaid at Baġdād.<sup>219</sup> He is called Muzayyin Aṣ-Ṣaġīr (the younger) in contrast to his namesake Abū Ġa'far or Abū 'Imran Muzayyin Al-Kabīr (the elder), a man buried either at Makkah or at Baġdād.<sup>220</sup> For many years Muzayyin lived at Makkah as a metic (*aqāma bi-Makkah muġāwiran*) until his death there in 328/939.<sup>221</sup> He is known to the Šūfī sources by samples of fine mystical diction and by a few anecdotes focused on the theme of respect for life at the point of death. On a journey with Ibrāhīm Al-Ḥawwāš (d. 291/904) Muzayyin picks up a scorpion (*'aqrab*) yet does not squash it.<sup>222</sup> On the road from Makkah to Madīnah he finds a dying youth at the well Maimūnah and cares for him.<sup>223</sup> He also appears posthumously at the agony of death of Abū Ya'qūb An-Nahraġūrī (d. 330/941).<sup>224</sup> Muzayyin belonged to a group of metics and ascetics living in the vicinity of the Ka'bah. He met among them Abū Bakr Al-Kattānī (d. 322/934), of whom he also has a vision at Al-'Umaq on the road of Makkah;<sup>225</sup> Abū Ḥamid Al-Aswad, who spent thirty years of his life as a metic in Makkah;<sup>226</sup> and Abū 'Amr Az-Zaġġāġī (d. 348/959), the head of that group (*ṣadr-i hamah*).<sup>227</sup> In the Holy City he also encounters Abū Ya'qūb Al-Aqṭa', the father-in-law of Ḥallāġ,<sup>228</sup> Abū Ġa'far Al-Maġdūmī, the "universal succour (*ġaut-i rūzgār*)" in the Šūfī hierarchy of his time,<sup>229</sup> and Abū 'Abd Allāh b Ḥafīf (d. 371/982) who became the wellknown Šūfī master of Šīrāz.<sup>230</sup> Our Muzayyin might be identical with a certain Abū Šāliḥ Al-Muzayyin who is mentioned by Ġāmī

<sup>218</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 293 (247); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 139.

<sup>219</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 396–400; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 160; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 333 f. (286 f.); Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Ilm al-qulūb*, Cairo 1384/1964, p. 108 (with reference to the *nisbah*); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 161.

<sup>220</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 332 f. (285 f.); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 161; cf. Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 32; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliā'*, X, 340; Ibn Al-Ğauzī, *Šifat aṣ-ṣafwah*, II, 15.

<sup>221</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 396; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 160; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 333 (286); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 161.

<sup>222</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 569.

<sup>223</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 569 f.

<sup>224</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 599.

<sup>225</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 599.

<sup>226</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 341; Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 164.

<sup>227</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 417 (352); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 222.

<sup>228</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 275 (241); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 131.

<sup>229</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 355 (303); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 171.

<sup>230</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 455.



as a disciple of Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 309/922).<sup>231</sup> But it is an anachronistic assumption that Tustarī requested to become Abū Ṣāliḥ Al-Muzayyin's pupil at Makkah.<sup>232</sup>

Three men surface in the sources as intimate disciples of Tustarī who yet are known only by their name and some anecdote. 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Aḥmad Al-Marwazī is mentioned as a disciple of Tustarī who had two episodic encounters with his master:

"'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Al-Marwazī said to Sahl: Abū Muḥammad, what do you say about a man whose carnal soul (*nafs*) for eighteen days urged him to satisfy his appetite with the leaves of the lotus tree (*warāq as-sidr*)? Sahl replied: What do you say about a man whose carnal soul for twenty-five days urged him to smell the leaves of the lotus tree? 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān jumped up blushing (and his jugular veins swelled)."<sup>233</sup>

"A man called 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Aḥmad used to be Sahl's disciple (*kāna yaṣḥabu Sahlan*). One day he said to Sahl: Abū Muḥammad, sometimes when I perform the ablution for ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), the water flows from my hands and forms into a rod of gold and a rod of silver. Sahl said to him: My friend, you know that boys when they weep are given a rattle to keep them busy. So watch out what you are doing."<sup>234</sup>

Abū 'Abd Allāh Al-Ḥasan b 'Abd Allāh b 'Abd Allāh b Ṣāliḥ Al-'Abbādānī was one of Tustarī's "select pupils (*az ṣāḡirdān-i ḥāṣṣ*)" who went to Baḡdād in order to meet Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiblī (d. 334/945).<sup>235</sup> Before his departure for the pilgrimage to Makkah Tustarī, with reference to the Qur'ānic verse 58,7, gave him the good advice for the journey that God is witness over everything and participates in every secret thought.<sup>236</sup> 'Abbādānī took residence in Makkah, perhaps as a metic: "He was a man with remarkable antecedents (*sābiqah*) and of a considerable talent (*mauhibah*) who moved from country to country until he came to Makkah where he made his home."<sup>237</sup>

Ishāq b Aḥmad, a man who lived at Baṣrah and "belonged to the sons of this world (*kāna min abnā' ad-dunyā*)" left all he had, "repented and became Sahl's disciple (*tāba wa-ṣaḥiba Sahlan*)".<sup>238</sup> He died before Tustarī and engaged in alchemistic practices as previously noted.<sup>239</sup>

"One day he said to Sahl: Abū Muḥammad, this my carnal soul (*nafs*) does not desist from yelling and screaming out of fear of losing (*its*) daily diet (*qūt*) and sustenance (*qiwām*).

<sup>231</sup> Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 142.

<sup>232</sup> Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 142.

<sup>233</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>234</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46; Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 325; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 679.

<sup>235</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 254 (222f.); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 120.

<sup>236</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, 207bf.

<sup>237</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 133.

<sup>238</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 319.

<sup>239</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 326f.; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 677.

Sahl said to him: Take that stone and beg your Lord (*rabb*) that he make it into food (*ṭa'ām*) for you to eat. He replied: But who will be my guide (*imām*) in this so that I may do it? Sahl answered: Your guide is Ibrāhīm (quoting the Qur'ānic verse 2, 260)."<sup>240</sup>

This Ishāq b Aḥmad is probably not identical with a certain Ishāq b Ayyūb mentioned by Anṣārī as "a disciple of Tustarī (*ṣāḡird-i Sahl*)."<sup>241</sup>

Four other individuals may be counted among Tustarī's circle of disciples although there is very scarce information concerning them. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain Al-Ġaurabī, who is enumerated among the ascetics of Syria, was a pupil (*ṣaḥība*) of Tustarī and a man with a decidedly Sunnī bent of mind.<sup>242</sup> In a number of passages of the *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* Abū Nu'aim relies on Al-Ġaurabī's transmission of Tustarī's doctrine.<sup>243</sup> Aḥmad b Mattā, whose name also reads Mattā b Aḥmad, is not explicitly cited as Tustarī's disciple, although he seems to have been close to Tustarī as the interpreter of his statements on the notions of fear (*ḥauf*) and truthfulness (*ṣidq*).<sup>244</sup> A certain 'Abd Allāh Al-Qaṣṣār visits Tustarī on his way for the pilgrimage from Širāz to Makkah and receives his instruction.<sup>245</sup> Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b Yaḥyā Aš-Širāzī (d. 306/918), who sets out visiting the Šūfī masters of 'Irāq, first comes to Tustarī and profits from his advice.<sup>246</sup> Little else is known about these three pupils of Tustarī. But four other men, three of them explicitly quoted as disciples of Tustarī, have to be discussed in detail because of the crucial position they occupy in the transmission and formation of the Tustarī tradition.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Aš'aṭ b Tamīm b Muhāḡir Az-Zamān As-Siġzī is the name of the direct transmitter of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* who, according to the manuscript evidence of the introductory *isnād* of the *Tafsīr* received the right to its transmission in the year 275/888 directly from Sahl At-Tustarī.<sup>247</sup> He is also known as Muḥammad b Al-Aš'aṭ Al-Iṣṭaḥrī and seems to have been the brother of the famous traditionist Abū Dā'ūd Sulaimān b Al-Aš'aṭ b Ishāq Al-Azdī As-Siġistānī (d. 275/888), if Sam'ānī's note in the *Kitāb al-ansāb* is to be trusted.<sup>248</sup> Whereas the *nisbah* As-Siġzī (with reference to the province of Sīstān or a village near Baṣrah) is common place in Arabic sources for the *nisbah* As-Siġistānī, no reason is given for

<sup>240</sup> Sarraġ, *Luma'*, 319.

<sup>241</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah*, 115 (99).

<sup>242</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X. 407; identical with Muḥammad b Al-Ḥasan Al-Ġūrī?, cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f. 141b; Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, II, 148.

<sup>243</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X. 190; 195–97; 201; 208.

<sup>244</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59; 75; 76.

<sup>245</sup> Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 165f.; Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 247.

<sup>246</sup> Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafīf*, 132; Širāzī *Šadd al-izār*, 137f.; Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 144.

<sup>247</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>248</sup> Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 41b.

the twofold *nisbah* of the same man, namely As-Siğzī and Al-Iṣṭahārī. Abū Dā'ūd Sulaimān's son and direct transmitter. Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b Sulaimān b Al-Aṣ'at As-Siğistānī (d. 316/929) mentions as his paternal uncle ('*ammī*) Muḥammad b Al-Aṣ'at in his *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*.<sup>249</sup> Thus the commentator of the Qur'ān Abū Bakr Muḥammad b 'Uzair As-Siğistānī (d. 330/942) and author of *Ġarīb al-Qur'ān* (entitled *Nuzhat al-qulūb*) is apparently not identical with the man in question, although Sezgin notes that "the name of his father is differently given already since early times".<sup>250</sup> The Ṣūfī of Ḥurāsān, Abū 'Abd Allāh As-Siğzī, who was a disciple of Abū Ḥafṣ An-Naisabūrī (d. 270/883),<sup>251</sup> likewise cannot be identified with our Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Aṣ'at As-Siğzī. Neither can Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Aṣ'at be the same as Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Dāwūd (d. 297/909), the son and successor of the founder of the Zāhirī school of religious law at Baġdād, Abū Sulaimān Dāwūd b 'Alī b Ḥalaf Al-Iṣbahānī (d. 270/884).<sup>252</sup> Muḥammad b Dāwūd, though not identical with Muḥammad b Dāwūd b Al-Ġarrāḥ (d. 296/908) as suggested by Sezgin,<sup>253</sup> was the author of the *Kitāb az-zabrah* and a prominent participant in the process against Ḥallāġ.

Abū Bakr As-Siğzī's name appears in twelve passages of the *Tafsīr*.<sup>254</sup> There he gives direct testimony about Tustarī, questions him, listens to him, dialogues with him, interprets a vision of Tustarī and explains some of Tustarī's comments on Qur'ānic verses. He also introduces Tustarī's interpretation of the first verse of the Qur'ān, the *Basmalah*, and explains part of it a little further on in the text. Abū Bakr As-Siğzī is also cited in the introduction to the *Tafsīr* as he asks Ġunaid whether he agreed with Tustarī's understanding of *walāyah* (sainthood) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) interpretation of the Qur'ān. The reply that Tustarī's understanding was correct in Ġunaid's view is further illustrated by an example of a black slave of Baġdād.<sup>255</sup> In the same chapter, Abū Bakr As-Siğzī recalls reminiscences about the auditive experiences (*samā'*) of the well-known Baġdādī Ṣūfī Abū Sa'īd Al-Ḥarrāz (d. 279/892 or 286/899), and mentions that he met the latter's pupil (*ġulam*) who told him about a dream vision of his master.<sup>256</sup> This pupil of Abū Sa'īd is identified as one of Tustarī's disciples

<sup>249</sup> Siğistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 183; Ḍahabī, *Ibar*, II, 54; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 14; 149; 174.

<sup>250</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 43.

<sup>251</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 251.

<sup>252</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 521; Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baġdād*, V, 256–263.

<sup>253</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 374; II, 75 ff.; 669.

<sup>254</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22.

<sup>255</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 5.

<sup>256</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 6.

(*ba'du aṣḥāb Sahl*) in the parallel passages of the *Qūt al-qulūb*.<sup>257</sup> On the basis of this scanty evidence Abū Bakr As-Siğzī appears as a man familiar with Ṣūfī circles of Baḡdād, who is interested in the mystical auditions of Ḥarrāz and eager to win Ḡunaid's approval for Tustarī's way of Qur'ānic interpretation. If these references are taken at face value, Abū Bakr As-Siğzī must have come to Baḡdād after the death of Ḥarrāz yet before Ḡunaid's demise in 298/910.

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Umar b Wāṣil Al-'Anbarī is explicitly cited in the sources as Tustarī's pupil (*tilmīd*) and disciple (*ṣāhib*).<sup>258</sup> He dialogues with Tustarī, narrates anecdotes about him, explains Tustarī's interpretation of Qur'ānic verses and quotes his master's solution to an objection raised against his doctrine. 'Umar b Wāṣil represents the immediate witness for the link between Tustarī, Muḥammad b Sawwār and Ma'rūf Al-Karḥī.<sup>259</sup> He relates Tustarī's advice to Al-Ḥasan b 'Abd Allāh b Šāliḥ Al-'Abbādānī when the latter sets out for the pilgrimage to Makkah.<sup>260</sup> 'Umar b Wāṣil also represents the crucial transmitter of Quṣairī's account about the beginnings of Tustarī's Ṣūfī career and assists at his deathbed.<sup>261</sup> He records Tustarī's view about the mystic's vision of God and confirms Tustarī's unique conception of the Prophet's light-nature.<sup>262</sup> In an anecdote he recalls a memorable night when Tustarī supported his exegesis of a Qur'ānic verse (21, 69) with a personal charismatic deed:

"That night I was with Sahl and I pulled out the wick of the lamp and held this small object in my fingers causing me pain. Sahl looked at me and put his finger (on the wick) for about two hours. He neither felt any pain because of it nor was his finger affected in any way, as he was saying, I take refuge in God from the fire."<sup>263</sup>

'Umar b Wāṣil was a traditionist whom Ibn Abī Ḥātim Ar-Rāzī (d. 327/938) regarded as an unreliable authority (*ḍa'afahu*).<sup>264</sup> He may have been a Ḥanbalī since he is recorded as narrating a tradition (*ḥadīth*) at the Bāb Al-Muḥawwal (the quarter of Baḡdād adjacent to the Muḥawwal gate) where the Ḥanbalī Barbahārī presided in the mosque.<sup>265</sup> Ibn Al-Ḡauzī (following Ibn Abī Ḥātim's opinion) discounts him also as a weak tra-

<sup>257</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 89; Baḥarzī, *Aurād al-aḥbāb*, 183.

<sup>258</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 116; Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, X, 356.

<sup>259</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 74.

<sup>260</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'āraḍah*, 207b.

<sup>261</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 83; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 135.

<sup>262</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 33, 585; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 33 f.

<sup>263</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>264</sup> Ibn Al-Ḡauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 370; Ḍahabī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad, *Al-Muḡnī fī aḍ-ḍu'afā'*, 2 vols., Aleppo 1389/1969, II, 475; *Mizān al-ītidāl fī naqd ar-rigāl*, 3 vols., Cairo 1325/1907, II, 273 (nr. 2159).

<sup>265</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, XI, 221.

ditionist and criticizes an embellished version of the “pomegranate story” as narrated by ‘Umar b Wāṣil.<sup>266</sup>

In the history of Baǧdād, Ḥaṭīb suggests that ‘Umar b Wāṣil was a native of Baṣrah who lived at Baǧdād (*aẓunnūhu Baṣriyyan sakana Baǧdād*).<sup>267</sup> He also has him relate two traditions, one at Baǧdād and the other at Baṣrah, both on the authority of Tustarī after Muḥammad b Sawwār.<sup>268</sup> At the Bāb Al-Muḥawwal of Baǧdād, ‘Umar b Wāṣil reports a tradition about the Prophet’s vision of Iblīs and transmits it to his *rāwī* Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Ubaid Allāh b Lu’lu’ As-Sāǧī at Baǧdād.<sup>269</sup> The same *rāwī*, however, hears ‘Umar b Wāṣil at Baṣrah in the year 300/913 as he narrates Anas b Mālik’s tradition of the four clairvoyants (*mutafarrisūn*) and reports that Tustarī had communicated this *ḥadīth* to ‘Umar b Wāṣil in the year 250/864, also at Baṣrah.<sup>270</sup> While ‘Umar b Wāṣil may have been an inhabitant of Baṣrah until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, as the account suggests, Tustarī did not reside there in the year 250/864, some twelve years before his expulsion from Tustar and his exile to Baṣrah. If we are not to assume some journey of Tustarī to Baṣrah in 250/864, Ḥaṭīb may be in error about the year or the locality of the incident or both.

In fact, ‘Umar b Wāṣil, the disciple who looked after Tustarī’s burial,<sup>271</sup> left Baṣrah some time after Tustarī’s demise and settled in Baǧdād shortly after 300/913. Thus, in the beginning of the 4th/10th century the Baǧdād traditionists welcomed a colleague who was a direct disciple of Tustarī, an important witness for Tustarī’s doctrine and an immediate transmitter of the Tustarī tradition. In the year 311/924 ‘Umar b Wāṣil went on the pilgrimage (*ḥaǧǧ*) to Makkah. On the way home the caravan of the pilgrims was intercepted by the Qarāmīṭah at Habīr in Muḥarram 312/924. According to Ibn Al-Ǧauzī’s description of the looting and killing that ensued, ‘Umar b Wāṣil (like Ğurairī) may have perished in the slaughter.<sup>272</sup> Ğa’far Al-Ḥuldī however escaped the ordeal and lived to tell the story:

“We were with the Šūfī Ibn Wāṣil in the year 311 (sic!) at Habīr, and when the battle began and the slaughter of the caravan commenced, we gathered about him, asking him to pray to God to deliver us. He said: This is no time for prayer, it is the time for resignation. When doom descends, prayer profits not.”<sup>273</sup>

<sup>266</sup> Ibn Al-Ǧauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, 369f.

<sup>267</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta’rīḥ Baǧdād*, XI, 221.

<sup>268</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta’rīḥ Baǧdād*, XI, 221; X, 356–58.

<sup>269</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta’rīḥ Baǧdād*, XI, 221.

<sup>270</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta’rīḥ Baǧdād*, X, 357.

<sup>271</sup> Dailamī, *Atf al-alif*, 135.

<sup>272</sup> Ibn Al-Ǧauzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 188.

<sup>273</sup> Tanūḥī, Abū ‘Alī Al-Muḥassin b ‘Alī, *Niṣwār al-muḥāḍarah wa-aḥbār al-muḍākarah*, 8 vols., Cairo 1391/1971, II, 218; cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, 2 vols., London 1921–22, I, 215; II, 226.

Abū Bakr As-Siğzī and 'Umar b Wāṣil, possibly also Ġurairī and Muzayyin, seem to have formed the nucleus of the group of Tustarī's disciples who left Baṣrah some time after his death in the year 283/896 and settled at Baġdād. In so doing they followed a trend of contemporary 'Irāqī Ṣūfis who selected the 'Abbāsid capital as their residence, a direction also chosen by Ḥallāğ some time earlier. An implicit reference to this change of residence by certain followers of Tustarī is found in Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*. There, Makkī discusses the differences in the custom of fasting, observed by the Ṣūfis of Baġdād and Baṣrah, and values the observance of the Baġdādī Ṣūfis (*ṭarīq ṣūfiyyat al-Baġdādiyyīn*) as more perfect than the observance of the Baṣrans (*ṭarīqat al-Baṣriyyīn*). He observes that the Baġdādīs refrain from storing an assured amount of food (*tark al-ma'lūm fi ṭ-ṭa'ām*), while the Baṣrans prefer to keep some food in store (*al-wuqūf ma'a'l-ma'lūm*) with which to break their fast. In order to document his statement, Makkī quotes the following incident:

"When the Baṣran Ṣūfis (*ṣūfiyyah ahl al-Baṣrah*) came to Abu'l-Qāsim Al-Ġunaid after Sahl's demise (*ba'da wafāt Sahl*), he asked them: What is your practice with regard to fasting (*ṣaum*)? They answered: We fast during day time, and when we enter into evening we draw from our stored supplies (*qumna ilā qifāfinā*). He replied: Oh, oh, it would be more perfect for your state (*ḥāl*) if you were to practise fasting without stored supplies, namely if you were not to rely on an assured amount of food (*ma'lūm*)."<sup>274</sup>

The story affirms that a group of Tustarī's disciples approached Ġunaid at Baġdād after the death of their master when a difference of opinion arose with regard to a certain Ṣūfī practice.

There is no precise account whether this batch was eventually absorbed by the group around Ġunaid or whether they joined the Ḥanbalī circles of Baġdād. Ġurairī and Muzayyin definitely adopted Ġunaid's Ṣūfī outlook while the former occupied a prominent place in his circle. Barbahārī and 'Umar b Wāṣil Al-'Anbarī however appear to have found a public platform in the Ḥanbalī quarters of the city. At any rate, Tustarī's disciples at Baġdād disappeared as a specific group of his followers within a short period of time, although they, conjointly or separately, might have handed down the Tustarī tradition to the Ṣūfī ascetics and metics at Makkah. Most of them can be traced in the Makkan environment at some point between 292/905 and 311/923. The disciples of Tustarī who stayed on in Baṣrah after his death, on the other hand, formed a rather cohesive group which took the shape of a mystico-theological school during the first half of the 4th/10th century. This group formed around Ibn Sālim, father and son.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Sālim Al-Baṣrī (d. 297/909) remained the disciple and companion (*ṣāhib*) of Sahl At-Tustarī all his life

<sup>274</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 45; Baḥarzī, *Aurād al-aḥbāb*, 324.

and did not associate with any other Šūfī master.<sup>275</sup> He is said to have served Tustarī for either thirty or sixty years,<sup>276</sup> to have been the transmitter (*rāwī*) of his teaching (*kalām*) and to have followed Tustarī's Šūfī path (*ṭarīqah*).<sup>277</sup>

Muḥammad b Sālim was addressed by Tustarī as friend (*dūst*, *ḥabīb*). When Tustarī explained the hidden fears of a man skilled in alchemistic practices, he muttered to Muḥammad b Sālim: "O friend (*yā dūst*), he feared for his faith."<sup>278</sup> Tustarī apparently concealed the invocation of "O God" in his expression "O friend". When he was asked about the disregard for his own illness, which he had treated successfully in another person, Tustarī replied: "O friend (*yā dūst*), the beating of The Friend (*al-ḥabīb*) does not hurt."<sup>279</sup> Tustarī also implied a double meaning within this vocative since, addressing friend and foe alike as *dūst*, he did not reveal whether he regarded a person as the friend of God (*ḥabīb Allāh*) or Satan (*ḥabīb Iblīs*). Thus when Tustarī called friend someone who ostensibly was not a friend (*ḥabīb*) but a business man (*ṣāḥib maṣlaḥah*) at the Nahr Al-Amīr, "he was reproved for addressing everybody by *yā-dūst*." But he replied to Muḥammad b Sālim, "no matter whether he is a believer (*mu'min*) or a hypocrite (*munāfiq*); if he is a believer then he is a friend of God (*ḥabīb Allāh*) and if he is a hypocrite then he is a friend of Satan (*ḥabīb Iblīs*)."<sup>280</sup> Tustarī's explanation of his usage of *yā dūst* is accompanied by gestures of intimate dialogue and secret teaching. He uses the phrase in private with Muḥammad b Sālim, he rubs his hand over a pupil's head and he whispers a secret into his ear.<sup>281</sup> One might venture the conjecture that these gestures of endearment and these phrases of intimate reference are fragments indicative of Tustarī's esoteric instruction..

In marital matters Muḥammad b Sālim had an opinion of his own. He counseled marriage (*tazwīḡ*) only to a man who was incapable of containing his sexual drive like a donkey seeing its mate, but recommended continence as the better part. He also enumerated small income, scarce

<sup>275</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 431ff.; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 378f.; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 257f. (225f.); Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 120f.

<sup>276</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 177; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 654; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 258 (225); Yāfī'i *Rauḍ ar-rayāḥīn*, 220.

<sup>277</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 431; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 378; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 258 (225).

<sup>278</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 326; glossary 137.

<sup>279</sup> Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, IV, 337.

<sup>280</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Saḥl*, 2b; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 120; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, IV, 329.

<sup>281</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 326; Tustarī, *Kalām Saḥl*, 2b; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 120; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, IV, 329.

possessions, the frequent depravity of women and the diminishing self-control of married men as motives for the preference of the unmarried state.<sup>282</sup> In this he seems to have departed somewhat from his master's view that asceticism (*zuhd*) did not apply to the principle of marriage and polygamy because "God endeared the chief of the ascetics (*sayyid az-zāhidīn*, the Prophet) to the women; so, how are we to renounce them?"<sup>283</sup>

Muḥammad b Sālīm appears as the frequent witness to episodic events of Tustarī's life.<sup>284</sup> Many of the aphorisms that are quoted on his authority in the Ṣūfī sources merely summarize Tustarī's mystical teaching. Four typical examples, culled from early Ṣūfī sources, shall illustrate the trend of these statements. Muḥammad b Sālīm outlines three modes of the recollection of God (*dīkr*), namely remembrance by the tongue (*lisān*), by the heart (*qalb*), and by being filled with love of God (*imtilā' min al-maḥabbah*).<sup>285</sup> He also sets forth a rather formal distinction of three degrees in the stage of perseverance (*ṣabr*)<sup>286</sup> and rather lamely defines the concepts of pure intention (*iḥlās*) and truthfulness (*ṣidq*) in opposition to hypocrisy (*riyā'*) and falsehood (*kidb*).<sup>287</sup> There is more pungency to his maxim, "Trust in God (*tawakkul*) is the state (*ḥāl*) of the Prophet and acquisition of goods (*kasb*) is his custom (*sunnah*)."<sup>288</sup> He also comes up with some statements of his own. Though tinged by a colourful longing for the world to come, they lack the mystical creativity of his master. To quote three examples:

"The saints (*auliyā'*) are known among creation by their gentle language and beautiful character, their cheerful faces and generous souls, their sparse complaints and ready acceptance of apologies (on the part of those who apologize) and by total compassion towards all creatures, be they righteous or reckless."<sup>289</sup>

"Loneliness with one's grief and solitude with one's sorrow betake a man to meadows that remove from him his grief and take away his sorrow. Complaint about one's grief makes a man waver in his suffering until God renders judgement upon him by His decree."<sup>290</sup>

"Raise your faculties beyond the dependence on this-worldly instincts! You will set foot into lands of vineyards and you will live in the abode of bliss. If you are fond of the (instincts) they overpower you and if you are leery of them they lead you to a spot where there is neither a place, nor a boundary, nor any news, message or information. Then, when you are there, you have a value whilst thou art at that time."<sup>291</sup>

<sup>282</sup> Ḡazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, II, 34; Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 151.

<sup>283</sup> Ḡazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, IV, 233; 234.

<sup>284</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 99, 133.

<sup>285</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 76.

<sup>286</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 50.

<sup>287</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 432; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, X, 378.

<sup>288</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 69; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 431; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'* X, 378.

<sup>289</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 432; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 258 (226).

<sup>290</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 433f.

<sup>291</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 434.



Muḥammad b Sālīm is often confused in the sources with his son Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Sālīm Al-Baṣrī (d. 356/967).<sup>292</sup> Both Ibn Sālīm, father and son, are said, by Sulamī, to have assembled a group of associates (*aṣḥāb*) around themselves at Baṣrah.<sup>293</sup> This group represents the nucleus of a school of Ṣūfī theologians who became known by the group name of As-Sālīmiyyah. The first sources to cite the name of As-Sālīmiyyah are the *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* by the famous geographer Muqaddasī (d. 380/990) and the *Ta'riḥ aṣ-ṣūfiyyah* by the Ṣūfī historian Sulamī. Muqaddasī defines the Sālīmiyyah as a group of popular preachers and ascetic Ṣūfī theologians at Baṣrah, whereas Sulamī states that Muḥammad b Sālīm's associates (*aṣḥāb*) at Baṣrah were called As-Sālīmiyyah.<sup>294</sup>

Muslim heresiography (*firaq* literature) in general disregards the Sālīmiyyah in the traditional enumeration of the seventy-two factions and sects of the Muslim community. Two works however refer to the Sālīmiyyah as a group of theologians favourably inclined towards Ḥallāḡ. In the chapter on the Ḥallāḡiyyah of his *Farq bain al-firaq* Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd Al-Qādir b Ṭāhir Al-Baḡdādī (d. 429/1037) mentions the Sālīmiyyah as a group of theologians at Baṣrah (*qaum min mutakallimī as-sālīmiyyah bi'l-Baṣrah*) who accept Ḥallāḡ and regard him as an accomplished mystic in the realization of Ṣūfī theory.<sup>295</sup> Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṣahfūr b Ṭāhir Al-Isfarā'īnī (d. 471/1078) bases the chapter of the Ḥallāḡiyyah in his work *At-Tabṣīr fi'd-dīn* on Baḡdādī's work. He notes that "a batch of theologians at Baṣrah, called the Sālīmiyyah who belong to the group of the Ḥaṣwiyyah that propound inconsistent heresies", accept Ḥallāḡ and say that he was a true mystic with a doctrine focused on the subtle theories of Ṣūfism.<sup>296</sup>

Sam'ānī cites under the *nisbah* As-Sālīmī "a group who are related to the school (*madhhab*) of Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Sālīm in the principles of religion (*uṣūl*) and to the school (*madhhab*) of his father Abū 'Abd Allāh in Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*), most of whom, living at Baṣrah and its vicinity, are jurisprudents (*fuqahā*)."<sup>297</sup> Suyūṭī simply mentions under

<sup>292</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 378; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 286a; Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, cf. introduction (R. A. Nicholson), p. XIX.

<sup>293</sup> Sulamī *Ṭabaqāt*, 431.

<sup>294</sup> Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, 126; 130; Amedroz, *Notes on some Sufi Lives*, 573f.; L. Massignon, *SEI*, 500 (art. Sālīmiya).

<sup>295</sup> Baḡdādī, Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd Al-Qādir b Ṭāhir, *Al-Farq bain al-firaq*, Beyrouth 1393/1973, p. 247.

<sup>296</sup> Isfarā'īnī, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṣahfūr b Ṭāhir, *At-Tabṣīr fi'd-dīn*, Cairo 1374/1955, p. 116.

<sup>297</sup> Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 286a.

the *nisbah* As-Sālimī “the Sālimiyyah whose head is Abu’l-Ḥasan b Sālim.”<sup>298</sup>

This group of the Sālimiyyah appears to have encountered the opposition of Ibn Ḥafif, a Šāfi’ī (or Zāhiri) scholar who received part of his education in the Šūfi circles of Baḡdād during the early decades of the 4th/10th century.<sup>299</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Al-Ḥafif b Isfahšād Ad-Dabbī Aš-Širāzī (d. 371/981), a native of Širāz, came to Baṣrah in 300/912 to study under the famous theologian Al-Aš’arī (d. 324/935).<sup>300</sup> In 303/915 he went on to Baḡdād where he was the disciple of the Šūfis Ruwaim, Ġurairī and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ and also met Ḥallāğ and Šibli.<sup>301</sup> In Baṣrah, Ibn Ḥafif frequented Šāfi’ī circles who were suspicious of Tustarī and hostile to some of his associates, while in Baḡdād he joined Šūfis who had separated from Tustarī’s followers at Baṣrah. His refutation of Aḥmad b Sālim, entitled *Ar-Radd ‘alā Ibn Sālim*, is not extant but seems to have reflected an unfavourable attitude towards Tustarī’s followers at Baṣrah.<sup>302</sup> There is no evidence to what extent the content of this pamphlet might have been influenced by Tustarī’s followers at Baḡdād, who had found shelter in the Ḥanbalī quarters of the city. Sulamī, ‘Abd Al-Qādir Al-Baḡdādī and Anšārī appear to preserve fragments of this pamphlet.

The extract of Sulamī’s *Ta’riḥ aš-šūfiyyah* as cited in Ḍahabī’s *Ta’riḥ al-islām* states with regard to the Sālimiyyah: “The people parted company with them (*hağarahum*) because of the improper wordings (*alfāz hağinah*) which they uttered (*aṭlaquhā*) and quoted (*ḍakaruhā*).”<sup>303</sup> Anšārī, who does not clearly differentiate between Ibn Sālim, father and son, appears to cite a basic point of this refutation, when he notes that Ibn Ḥafif discredited Muḥammad b Sālim because of his statement that “God saw everything in pre-eternity (*azal*).”<sup>304</sup> Ibn Ḥafif understood this statement as an affirmation of the eternity of time (*qidam-i dahr*). But Anšārī suggests that Ibn Ḥafif mistook Muḥammad b Sālim’s reference to God’s eternal noetic vision (*didār-i ‘ilm*) of the universe for an assertion of its eternal existence in time. In order to document his point Anšārī rephrases a statement by Muḥammad b Sālim which he selects from Sulamī’s *Ṭabaqāt*: “Whoever obeys God

<sup>298</sup> Suyūṭī, Ġalāl Ad-Dīn ‘Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Abī Bakr, *Lubb al-lulāb* (ed. P. J. Veth), Lugundi Batavorum 1840, p. 131.

<sup>299</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 663; Massignon, *Essai*, 319; Dailamī, *Sīrat-i Ibn-i Ḥafif*, cf. introduction (A. Schimmel), p. 32; J. C. Vadet, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, III, 823 f. (art. *Ibn Khafif*).

<sup>300</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 663.

<sup>301</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 663.

<sup>302</sup> Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 664; Vadet, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, III, 823 (art. *Ibn Khafif*).

<sup>303</sup> Amedroz, *Notes on Some Šūfi Lives*, 573 f.

<sup>304</sup> Anšārī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūfiyyah*, 258; Ġāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, 120 f.

according to the primordial vision (*didār-i sabq*) will have charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*) made manifest upon him.”<sup>305</sup>

Anṣārī, basing his case on Ibn Ḥafif’s authority and Sulamī’s account, preserves traces of the controversy about Ibn Sālīm’s conception of the primordial vision. ‘Abd Al-Qādir Al-Baġdādī, on the other hand, refers to Ibn Sālīm Al-Baṣrī’s peculiar conception of the beatific vision as a disproved doctrine and refutes Ibn Sālīm’s view that “the unbelievers (*kafarah*) will also have the vision of God” in the world to come.<sup>306</sup>

In the first half of the 5th/11th century the Ḥanbalī theologians of Baġdād took issue with the objectionable points of the Sālīmī doctrines. Abū Ya’lā b Al-Farrā’ (d. 458/1065) enumerated them in his *Al-Mu’tamad fi uṣūl ad-dīn* in the form of eighteen propositions, refuting them one by one.<sup>307</sup> Twelve of these were copied by ‘Abd Al-Qādir Al-Ġilānī (d. 561/1167) in the *Ġunyah* (excluding the first, second, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth and seventeenth proposition).<sup>308</sup> Although there is no reference to a particular source for this Ḥanbalī catalogue of Sālīmī doctrine, Ibn Ḥafif’s work in refutation of Ibn Sālīm may well have been its origin. In this case the previously quoted fragments of Sulamī, Anṣārī and Baġdādī may preserve traces of the transmission of Sālīmī heresy from Ibn Ḥafif to the Ḥanbalī theologians. But the Ḥanbalī list of Sālīmī points of doctrine may also have been formulated independently in the environment of the Baġdādī Ḥanbalīs; for they were well acquainted with Tustarī’s mystical ideas through a group of his disciples who had settled in their midst after separating from his followers at Baṣrah. The eighteen propositions read as follows:

- 1) “The Creator, in His Essence, does not cease to look at the universe, be it in existence or non-existence.
- 2) Through a single attribute God comprehends that which He comprehends through all His attributes.
- 3) God will be seen on the Day of Resurrection in a human, Muḥammadan form.
- 4) God will be revealed to all creatures, the cosmic spirits, the human beings, the angels and all the animals, to each one in his own image.

<sup>305</sup> Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 258 (226); Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 432.

<sup>306</sup> Baġdādī, *Al-Farq bain al-firaq*, 202.

<sup>307</sup> Ibn Al-Farrā’, Muḥammad b Abi Ya’lā, *Al-Mu’tamad fi uṣūl ad-dīn*, Beyrouth 1974, pp. 217–221.

<sup>308</sup> Ġilānī, ‘Abd Al-Qādir, *Al-Ġunyah li-ṭalībī ṭarīq al-ḥaqq*, 2 vols. Cairo 1322, I, 106 f.; I. Goldziher, *Die dogmatische Partei der Sālīmīja*, ZDMG LXI (1907), pp. 73–80; L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l’histoire de la mystique en pays d’Islam*, Paris 1929, pp. 39–41; C. Tunc, *Sahl b ‘Abd Allāh At-Tustarī und die Sālīmīya*, Bonn 1970, p. 29.

- 5) God has a secret; if He were to make it manifest the divine providence would become vain. The prophets have a secret; if they were to make it manifest, prophethood would become vain. The learned men have a secret; if they were to make it manifest, knowledge would become vain.
- 6) The unbelievers will see God in the world to come and He will call them to give account.
- 7) Satan prostrated before Adam at the second command.
- 8) Satan did never enter paradise.
- 9) Gabriel comes to the Prophet without leaving his (heavenly) place.
- 10) God does not cease to be (actually) Creator.
- 11) The work (of creation) is created but the act (of creation) is uncreated.
- 12) When God spoke to Moses, Moses gloried in himself. So God revealed to him: O Moses, you gloried in yourself, turn around your eyes. When Moses turned around his eyes, he all of a sudden saw a hundred mountains, a Moses on each mountain.
- 13) The express will is a branch of the divine will, and the divine will is the root of the express will. The divine will is eternal and the express will is originated.
- 14) God wills works of obedience from His servants and does not will works of disobedience from them. He willed them by their (agency) but not (as produced) by them.
- 15) The Prophet knew the Qur'ān by heart prior to the (call to) prophethood and before Gabriel came to him.
- 16) God (Himself) recites through the tongue of every Qur'ān reader. When one listens to the Qur'ān recitation of a reader, one hears it from God.
- 17) God has a single divine will as He has a single knowledge, although He has (an act of) express will with each expressly willed object.
- 18) God is present in every place and there is no difference between the divine throne and other places."<sup>309</sup>

At two other paragraphs of his work Abū Ya'la b Al-Farrā' restates the sixth proposition (the beatific vision and the divine reckoning of the unbelievers) and in a third passage cites a statement of Tustarī concerning the Last Judgement which may adumbrate the origin of this Sālimī proposition in Tustarī's own thought:

"Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī said: The prophets (*anbiyā'*) will be questioned about the proclamation of the prophetic message, the unbelievers (*kuffār*) will be questioned about the denial of the prophetic messengers, the heretics (*mubtadi'ah*) will be questioned about the sunnah and what they wrought of it, and the believers (*mu'minūn*) will be questioned about the actions."<sup>310</sup>

The information of the Šūfī primary sources on Ibn Sālim, father and son, and on their group of Tustarī's followers is very diversified. Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt*, Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyah* and Anṣārī's *Ṭabaqāt*, each quote a short section on Muḥammad b Sālim the father,<sup>311</sup> whereas Quṣairī seems to bypass his biography. Sarrağ, the author of the *Luma'* who describes

<sup>309</sup> Ibn Al-Farrā', *Al-Mu'tamad*, 217–221.

<sup>310</sup> Ibn Al-Farrā', *Al-Mu'tamad*, 186.

<sup>311</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 431–434; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 378f.; Anṣārī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, 257f. (225f.).

Tustarī as “the *imām* of Ibn Sālīm and the best of mankind (*afḍal an-nās*) in his opinion,”<sup>312</sup> frequented Aḥmad b Sālīm’s circle at Baṣrah and recalls in particular the divergences of opinion between himself and Aḥmad b Sālīm concerning the theopathic utterances of Abū Yazīd Al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874).<sup>313</sup> He also quotes a few aphorisms of Muḥammad b Sālīm and has both father and son relate anecdotes concerning Tustarī. Makkī, in his *Qūt al-qulūb*, refers to Aḥmad b Sālīm as “our master (*ṣaiḥunā*)” and to Tustarī as “our guide (*imāmunā*).”<sup>314</sup> He also might refer to Muḥammad b Sālīm anonymously as “one of our learned men (*ba’dū ‘ulamā’inā*).” The linguistic usage of *ṣaiḥ* and *imām* presupposes on the part of Makkī a certain identification with a group of Ṣūfis at Baṣrah who followed the Ṣūfī doctrine and method of Sahl At-Tustarī as explained by Aḥmad b Sālīm. This group of companions (*aṣḥāb*) around Aḥmad b Sālīm seems to have represented a fairly tightly knit group, since Makkī calls them brethren (*iḥwān*).<sup>315</sup>

In the *Kaṣf al-maḥgūb*, Ḡullābī groups Ṣūfis of similar outlook together and identifies them by a group name. He divides the whole body of Ṣūfism into twelve sects, “two of which are condemned (*mardūd*) while the remaining are approved (*maqbul*).”<sup>316</sup> Although he refers to the group of Tustarī’s followers by the name of As-Sahliyyah, he links the Sālīmīs with the Ḥulūliyyah, a sect that derives its name from the doctrine of incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and incorporation (*imtizāḡ*).<sup>317</sup> ‘Ain Al-Quḍāt Al-Hamadānī on the other hand, citing Abū’l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Sālīm as a famous Ṣūfī of Baṣrah and one of Tustarī’s disciples (*aṣḥāb*), states that the associates of Tustarī (*aṣḥābuhu*) were named after Aḥmad b Sālīm (*ilāhi yunsabū*), “being called the Sālīmīyyah.”<sup>318</sup>

On the basis of this evidence, it seems that a group of Baṣran Ṣūfis, gathered around Muḥammad b Sālīm and his son Aḥmad b Sālīm, found sufficient coherence in the mystical teaching of Sahl At-Tustarī to adopt it as the basis of their mystico-theological outlook. Tustarī remained their guide and spiritual forebear, while Aḥmad b Sālīm became their principal organizer and exponent, after Muḥammad b Sālīm’s death thirteen years

<sup>312</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma’*, 394.

<sup>313</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma’*, 394 f.

<sup>314</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 53 f.; 32, 46.

<sup>315</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 31.

<sup>316</sup> Ḡullābī, *Kaṣf al-maḥgūb*, 164; tr. Nicholson, 130.

<sup>317</sup> Ḡullābī, *Kaṣf al-maḥgūb*, 244 ff.; tr. Nicholson, 195 ff.

<sup>318</sup> Hamadānī, ‘Ain Al-Quḍāt Abu’l-Ma’ālī ‘Abd Allāh b Muḥammad, *Šakwā al-ḡarīb* (ed. A. Osseirān), Tehrān 1962, pp. 22; 24, 29; cf. A. J. Arberry, *A Ṣūfī Martyr*, London 1969, pp. 48; 50, 69.

after Tustarī. People outside the Šūfī circles and a Šūfī historian like Sulamī referred to them as As-Sālimiyyah. Certain Ḥanbalī opponents, aware that some of their own, like Barbahārī, had been disciples of Tustarī, connected with this name a tendentious interpretation of certain sayings propounded by the Šūfī circle around Aḥmad b Sālim on the basis of Tustarī's mystical teaching.

According to the account in the *Ibar* of Ḍahabī (d. 784/1348) Aḥmad b Sālim, "the master of the Sālimiyyah (*šaiḥ as-Sālimiyyah*)" was "the last of Sahl At-Tustarī's disciples to die (*huwa āḥir aṣḥab Sahl At-Tustarī wafātan*)" and "flourished a long time (*amura dahran*), remaining alive until the year 350 and something (*baqiya ilā sanah biḍ' wa-ḥamsin*).<sup>319</sup> He "was opposed to fundamental principles (*uṣūl*) of the Sunnah in some respects though extremely orthodox in other regards" and had "Abū Ṭālib (Al-Makkī), the author of the *Qūt al-qulūb* study under him."<sup>319</sup> In this work, Makkī states that he personally saw Aḥmad b Sālim shave off his whiskers leaving the middle part of the beard standing, and that he noticed him join his fingers during the ritual exclamation of God's praise (*takbīr*).<sup>320</sup> Furthermore, Makkī depicts Aḥmad b Sālim as a man of mystical visions whose demise marked a regrettable disruption of the Šūfī path. Careful not to divulge the secrets of the mystics by letter or public discussion, he yet fathomed the depth of mystical knowledge among brethren in discreet sessions. Makkī writes:

"The *šaiḥ* Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālim of this Šūfī path (*ṭarīq*) had contemplative beholdings (*mušābadāt*), ravishing disclosures (*muṭāla'āt*), and spiritual journeys (*siyāḥāt*) into the unseen mysteries (*ḡuyūb*) and that which comes to pass in the eschatological events (*ḡarayān fi'l-āḥiriyyāt*). Essences (*a'yān*) were transformed for him and the ocular view (of beatific vision, *al-'iyyān*) became manifest to him. Space (*makān*) was rolled up for him and he saw a thousand saints (*walī*) in the presence of God and received knowledge (*'ilm*) from each one of them. Thereupon, after his bereavement (*faqd*), the Šūfī path (*ṭarīq*) was cut off, the traces (*āṭār*) were erased and (true) explorations became extinct. Thereupon God made it known what He would be doing with this Šūfī path and its people, whether He would bring forth in it people and make them follow the deep mysteries (*ḡāmiḍāt*) of the path as a way, or whether He would hide them in the fold (*tayy*) of their path and conceal their path in the hidden depth of the billows – in the depths of divine foreknowledge (*al-'ilm as-sābiq*)."<sup>321</sup>

"Our *šaiḥ*, Abū Bakr b Al-Ḡallā' wrote to our *šaiḥ* Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālim asking him in a letter (*kitāb*) concerning problems of the interpretation of mystical secrets (*ma'ānī as-sarā'ir*). The man who reported this to me noticed him throw away the letter and ask: Who is the author of these questions? They answered: He is not present, he is in Makkah. He replied: I do not give an answer to this in a letter."<sup>322</sup>

<sup>319</sup> Ḍahabī, *Ibar*, II, 320.

<sup>320</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 11; III, 142.

<sup>321</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 113.

<sup>322</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, III, 114.

"Someone told me about our *ṣaiḥ* Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm that a group of people were gathered in his mosque and sent one of them to him with the request: your brethren (*iḥwān*) are in attendance and would like meeting you and listening to you (*as-samā' minka*); if you care to go out to them, you will find them that way. The mosque was adjacent to the door of his house, but it could not be entered from within his residence (*manzil*). After having stepped out (to take a look) at them, he asked the messenger: Who are they? He answered: So and so, and so and so, and called them by their names. He replied: These do not belong to my companions (*aṣḥābī*), these are companions of gatherings (*aṣḥāb al-maḡlis*), and he did not go over (to sit) with them. It appeared as if he regarded them as common folk (*umūm*), unfit for the specific explanation of his knowledge (*taḥṣīṣ 'ilmihī*) for whose leisure he had no time to spend of his own . . . But Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm used to go out to meet his brethren (*iḥwān*) whom he regarded as proper recipients (*mauḏī*) of his knowledge (*'ilm*), and sat down with them (*yaḡlisu ilaihim*) in study and discussion with them (*yudākiruhum*). Sometimes he bade them come in by day or by night. And by my life, it was a study session (*mudākarah*) among peers (*nuzarā'*) and a discussion period (*muḥāḍarah*) among brethren. The session (*ḡulūs*) for the purpose of knowledge (*'ilm*) was kept among the companions whereas the answer to the problems (*su'āl*) was shared with the common folk."<sup>323</sup>

Ḡazzālī records another instant that demonstrates Aḥmad b Sālīm's cautious public stance towards *samā'*, the listening to music and singing practiced by the Ṣūfis in order to induce auditive and ecstatic experiences:

"Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm was asked, how do you forbid *samā'* when Ḡunaid, Sarī As-Saqāṭī and Du'n-Nūn were wont to listen? He replied, and how have I forbidden *samā'* when those that are better than I have allowed it and listened to it?"<sup>324</sup>

From Sam'ānī's handwritten notes to the history of Yaḥya b Mandah, Yāqūt copied the account of an encounter between Aḥmad b Sālīm and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b Mūsā b Al-'Abbās b Muḡāhid Al-Muqri' At-Tamīmī who died at Baḡdād in 324/936.<sup>325</sup> A learned and reliable authority in the Qur'ānic sciences, Ibn Muḡāhid was the first to compile the seven canonical Qur'ān readings (*qira'āt*) in his work *As-Sab'ah fī manāzil al-qurrā'*.<sup>326</sup> He was noted for remarkable experiences during ritual prayer and Qur'ān recital, reaching the divine circumference at the veils (*ḥuḡub*). There "it was revealed what obtains between me and the Lord of Might (*rabb al-'izzah*), being a secret with a secret (*sirran bi-sirrin*)."<sup>327</sup> Aḥmad b Sālīm's memory of Ibn Muḡāhid's recitations seems to condone the relapse into auditive experiences (*samā'*):

"I heard the *imām* Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd Allāh b Šīṭ Al-Muqri' say, I heard Aḥmad b Maṇšūr Al-Muḏakkir say, I heard the Ṣūfī Abu'l-Ḥasan b Sālīm Al-Baṣrī, who was the disciple

<sup>323</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 31.

<sup>324</sup> Ḡazzālī, *Iḥyā'*, II, 267; Bāḥarī, *Aurād al-aḥbāb*, 190.

<sup>325</sup> Yāqūt, Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ar-Rūmī, *Iršād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb. Mu'ḡam al-uddabā'* (ed. D. S. Margoliouth), 7 vols., London/Leiden 1923–26, II, 118.

<sup>326</sup> J. Robson, *ET*, III, 880 (art. *Ibn Muḏjāhid*); Sezgin *GAS*, I, 14.

<sup>327</sup> Ḥaṭīb, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, V, 145; Yāqūt, *Iršād*, II, 117.

(*ṣāhib*) of Sahl b 'Abd Allah At-Tustarī, say: I heard Abū Bakr b Muğāhid Al-Muqri' say: I saw the Lord of Might (*rabb al-'izzah*) in a dream (*manām*) during which I completed two recitals of the entire Qur'ān (*ḥatmatain*), though I chanted it in two passages and then was distressed about it. So He said: O Ibn Muğāhid, perfection belongs to Me, perfection belongs to Me."<sup>328</sup>

Dahabī states in his *Ta'riḥ al-Islām* that Aḥmad b Sālim was the *ṣaiḥ* of the people of Baṣrah and the compiler of the teachings of the Sālīmīyyah (*ṣāhib maqālat as-sālīmīyyah*). He also defines Aḥmad b Sālim's relationship to Tustarī, and says: "He perceived (*adraka*) Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī and studied under him (*aḥada 'anhu*) because his father belonged to Sahl's disciples (*talāmiḍah*)."<sup>329</sup> Furthermore, Dahabī specifies the age of Aḥmad b Sālim and states: "He remained alive (*baqiya*) until approximately the year 390, reaching the age of ninety years."<sup>329</sup> The date 390 A. H. seems to be incorrect (possibly due to a scribal error for 360), since Dahabī, in his *Ibar*, places Aḥmad b Sālim's death somewhere in the decade between 350 and 360 A. H.<sup>330</sup> This determines the decade from 260 to 270 A. H. as Aḥmad b Sālim's date of birth and agrees with Dahabī's assertion that Aḥmad b Sālim met Tustarī and studied under him. In confirmation of this statement, Dahabī adds the remark in his *Ta'riḥ al-Islām* that a few years after 350 A. H. (*nif wa-ḥamsin*) Muḥammad b 'Alī b 'Amr b Mahdī An-Naqqāš Al-Iṣbahānī (d. 414/1023) personally heard Aḥmad b Sālim teach but did not record his teachings. Finally, Ibn Al-Aṭīr records that "Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Sālim, the disciple (*ṣāhib*) of Sahl At-Tustarī", died in the year 356/967.<sup>331</sup> Thus Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Sālim Al-Baṣrī has to be considered as the last direct disciple of Tustarī.

<sup>328</sup> Yāqūt, *Irsād*, II, 118; Ṣafadī, Ḥalīl b Aibak, *Al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, 8 vols. (ctd), Istanbul/Damascus 1931 ss, VIII, 200.

<sup>329</sup> Amedroz, *Notes on Some Ṣūfi Lives*, 573 f.

<sup>330</sup> Dahabī, *Ibar*, II, 320.

<sup>331</sup> Ibn Al-Aṭīr, *Al-Kāmil fi't-ta'riḥ*, VIII, 582.



## Chapter III

### The Tafsīr of Sahl At-Tustarī

The present chapter describes the extant and available manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, determines their age, their interdependence and their relationship to the archetype of the text on the basis of external and internal criteria (first section). It outlines the transmission of the text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* from the author to the archetype through the successive stages of the intermediaries in transmission as they are indicated by the chain of transmitters prefixed to the text of the *Tafsīr* (second section). It evaluates passages from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* found as parallel quotations in prominent Ṣūfī primary sources which constitute valuable evidence in favour of the authenticity of Tustarī's work (third section). It discusses the structure of the *Tafsīr*, describes the ways and means of its compilation, defines the extent of Tustarī's authorship and resolves the purpose and nature of the compilation as a compendium of the Tustarī tradition by a particular group of Tustarī's disciples (fourth section). Finally, it appraises Tustarī's approach to the Qur'ān and the two basic strata of his method of interpretation of Qur'ānic keynotes (fifth section).

#### 1. The Description of the Manuscripts of Tustarī's Tafsīr

The *Tafsīr* ascribed to Tustarī is extant in six manuscripts, namely mss. *Gotha* 529, *Fātiḥ* 638, *Ṣan'ā'* 62, *Fātiḥ* 3488/2, *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515 and *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38, and in two printed editions, namely *Cairo* 1326/1908 (Na'sānī) and *Cairo* 1329/1911 (Ġamrāwī).<sup>1</sup>

Ms. *Gotha* 529: The microfilm of this manuscript, which is preserved in the research library at Gotha in East Germany (DDR),<sup>2</sup> demonstrates the fact that the original must have been soaked in water. As a result of this physical damage, which affects almost every page, the ink has either been

<sup>1</sup> cf. F. Sezgin, *GAS* I, 647.

<sup>2</sup> W. Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, vol. I, Gotha 1878, pp. 412–414. The microfilm was obtained through the courtesy of the Forschungsbibliothek at Gotha.

blotted out at certain spots or adhered to the opposite page, thus placing a layer of indistinct characters over the script on that page.

The manuscript is complete and includes 153 folios (ff. 1a–153b). The folios are bound in order, except for ff. 88a–b and 95a–b, which have been interchanged in the process of binding. Seventeen lines to a page, ms. *Gotha 529* was written in beautiful, old *nashī* by an unknown scribe, who put all diacritical marks and placed numerous vowel signs. In certain instances, the scribe corrected an error in copying in the margin. Sometimes such a textual correction might have been done by a later hand. A later hand definitely wrote notes in tiny characters in the margin of about eighty folios. Though often illegible because of physical damage, a large number, if not all of these notes, seem to be extracts from Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*.

According to the evidence of the colophon, the anonymous scribe accomplished the copying of ms. *Gotha 529* on *Šawwāl* 6, 825 A. H. (September 23, 1422 A. D.). Ms. *Gotha 529*, thus, constitutes the oldest extant manuscript of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Ms. *Fātiḥ 638*: The manuscript, presently preserved in the library of Süleymaniye mosque at İstanbül,<sup>3</sup> has undergone only slight physical damage on a few folios (e. g. f. 18b). It is complete and counts 72 folios (ff. 1a–72b). The anonymous copyist wrote ms. *Fātiḥ 638* in thin but clear *nashī*, though in an irregular fashion, between twenty to twenty-nine lines per page. Vowel signs are almost completely absent, while the diacritical marks are put in or left out without apparent principle of order. This disorderly picture is increased by the corrections of at least two different hands. The first of these two corrected the text by scribbling his emendations between the lines and by crossing out the corrected passages. The other hand collated the present manuscript with some other manuscript of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and marked his preferred variant readings in the margin. The memoranda of various hands on the title-page (f. 1a) reveal that ms. *Fātiḥ 638* was worked through by different people. One of these later hands wrote the title *Kitāb fahm al-Qur'ān* on top of the page. Four memoranda, one of them written in 1133 A. H., refer to the problem of authorship of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. In another note on the title page, dated 1110 A. H., the then owner of ms. *Fātiḥ 638* identifies himself as Saif Ad-Dīn Abu'n-Nūr Aṣ-Ṣaiḥ 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Rafī b Aṣ-Ṣaiḥ Muḥammad An-Nāẓimī Al-Ḥalwātī.

The colophon of ms. *Fātiḥ 638* dates the completion of the copyist's work on *Ḍu'l-Ḥiġġah* 26, 872 A. H. (July 17, 1468 A. D.). This date places

<sup>3</sup> Dr. C. J. Adams (McGill) had the kindness to obtain for me an excellent microfilm of this manuscript.

ms. *Fātiḥ* 638 second in the chronological order of the extant and available manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Ms. *Ṣan'ā'* 62: A microfilm of this manuscript, which is preserved in the library *Al-Ḥizānah al-mutawakkiliyyah* of the great mosque at *Ṣan'ā'* in Yemen, is kept in the microfilm collection of the *Dār al-kutub*, Cairo.<sup>4</sup> The microfilmed copy of this microfilm shows that the camera was out of focus for the shots covering ff. 1a–33a, so that the photographer missed a line or two per page – mostly at the bottom of a page. Sometimes the text is also cut at the vertical edges, but from f. 33b onwards the camera was adjusted and gives a complete picture.

Ms. *Ṣan'ā'* 62, as listed in the catalogue, counts 674 folios and constitutes a collective manuscript consisting of three parts. The microfilm represents the first part (ff. 1a–112a) and covers the whole of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. The second and third parts, seem to include Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain As-Sulamī's *Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr* which, however, is entitled *Ḥaqqā'iq at-tahqīq* according to the catalogue of the library.<sup>5</sup> The text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* is written in one block, twenty-one lines per page, without any notes or glosses in the margin. The handwriting is marked by the characteristic features of diacritical marking that are peculiar to Zaidī *nashī*.

Neither the manuscript itself nor the catalogue of the library give any precise indication as to the age of the manuscript. There is, however, the catalogue remark that the manuscript is old (*qadīm*) and was written by the scribe 'Alī b Al-Imām Šaraf Ad-Dīn Yaḥyā b Šams Ad-Dīn b Al-Mahdī.<sup>6</sup> The title page provides further clues for the age of the manuscript by two notes written across the page, as both of them are records of change of ownership of the present manuscript. The older one of the two seems to be written in the same hand as the whole manuscript, since it shows the same stroke of the pen and exhibits the same diacritical peculiarities. The note tells us that ms. *Ṣan'ā'* 62 passed into the possession of the Zaidī Muḥammad b Šāliḥ As-Sāgī Al-Ḥimyarī in the month of *Raḡab* of the year 936 A. H. (March 1530 A. D.). The younger note mentions the date of a Tuesday in the month of *Ġumādā al-āḥirah* of the year 963/1556, when the manuscript again changed hands. The other memoranda, scribbled on the title page, evidently are later than the note of 963/1556. Among these

<sup>4</sup> cf. *Fihris kutub al-ḥizānah al-mutawakkiliyyah al-'āmīrah bi'l-Ġāmi' al-Muqaddas bi-Ṣan'ā'*, *Ṣan'ā'*, n. d., p. 16; cf. H. Y. Nāmī, *Al-Ba'tah al-miṣriyyah li-taṣwīr al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyyah fi bilād al-Yaman*, Cairo 1952. A microfilmed copy of this microfilm was obtained through the kind services of Rev. G. Anawati (Cairo).

<sup>5</sup> cf. *Fihris kutub al-ḥizānah al-mutawakkiliyyah*, p. 16; incidentally the ms. of Sulamī's *Ḥaqqā'iq at-tahqīq* (*Ṣan'ā'* 62, ff. 114–674) is not listed by Sezgin, *GAS* I, 671 f.

<sup>6</sup> cf. *Fihris kutub al-ḥizānah al-mutawakkiliyyah*, pp. 16; 318.

scribblings is also a note by the hand of Muḥammad b Al-Ḥasan Al-Imām Al-Qāsim who donated the manuscript to the library. By reason of the record of *Rağab* 936 A. H., I am inclined to date ms. *Şan'ā'* 62 only slightly prior to 936/1530, thus third in the chronological order of the available manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Ms. *Fātiḥ* 3488/2: The manuscript is preserved in the library of Sülemaniye mosque at İstanbül<sup>7</sup> and is the second and final part of a collective manuscript. The first part (ff. 1–180) includes a manuscript copy of the *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ* of the famous Ḥanafī *qādī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798).<sup>8</sup> The text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* is neatly written in *nashī* handwriting, nineteen lines to a page without marginal notes, and begins without reference to title and author (f. 181b). Tustarī's *Tafsīr* is copied in its entirety except for one *lacuna* of which the copyist was aware, since he left blank the space between f. 321a, 1.4 and f. 322a, 1.9; i. e. roughly two pages which make up for almost all of Tustarī's commentary on *sūrah* 99 and *sūrah* 100. The colophon mentions the author and the title of the work and notes that the scribe, Muḥammad b 'Alī Al-Qilātī Al-Azharī Al-Miṣrī, accomplished the copying of the manuscript at Makkah on *Ġumādā al-āḥirah* 13, 965 A. H. (April 2, 1558). Thus, ms. *Fātiḥ* 3488/2 stands fourth in the chronological order of the available manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

Ms. *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515: The manuscript is kept in the library *Dār al-kutub az-ẓāhiriyyah* at Damascus under the catalogue number *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515, *tafsīr* 120.<sup>9</sup> It is in excellent physical condition and includes the whole of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* (ff. 1b–146a) and was written, seventeen lines to a page, in beautiful *nashī* handwriting by the copyist Aḥmad b Ḥasan Al-Ğaşaşī. The diacritical marks are indicated and vowel signs are frequently added. Occasionally, a correction is written in the margin by the scribe himself. There are also in the margin a few short remarks by a later hand. The colophon (f. 146a) fails to mention the year in which the manuscript was written. Concluding from the style of handwriting and the catalogue classification of the manuscript as recent (*nushah ḥadīthah*), ms. *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515 seems to have been copied in the 12th/18th or 13th/19th century.

Ms. *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38: The manuscript is preserved in the library *Dār al-kutub* at Cairo under the reference number *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38 *tafsīr* 68.<sup>10</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Again, Dr. C. J. Adams obtained an excellent microfilm copy of this manuscript. Sezgin's note (GAS I, 647) that ms. *Fātiḥ* 3488/2 comprises ff. 181a–279a is inaccurate.

<sup>8</sup> Sezgin's note (GAS I, 420) has to be corrected to read "*Fātiḥ* 3488/1 (ff. 1–180, 965 H.)."

<sup>9</sup> Rev. P. Nwyia (Beirut), through the good services of Mr. J. Karam, had the kindness to obtain for me an excellent microfilm copy of this manuscript.

<sup>10</sup> A microfilm copy of this manuscript was obtained through the kind services of Ms. N. Rafla (Montreal).

microfilm represents a complete copy of the manuscript, containing 107 folios, and is written in beautiful *nashī*. Preceding the text is a table of contents, which erroneously spells the name of the author as Ad-Dasturī. According to the colophon (f. 107b), the scribe Muḥammad Aš-Šahāt Aš-Šarqāwī completed the copying of the text on Monday, *Du'l-Hiğğah* 8, 1269 A. H. (September 12, 1853 A. D.). The colophon, however, has two sections of which the first mentions an incomplete date, namely *Ramaḍān* 3, . . . 46 A. H., presumably in reference to the underlying manuscript.<sup>11</sup>

Tustarī's *Tafsīr* was printed for the first time at Cairo in 1326/1908 under the title *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm* (204 pages; press of Muḥammad Ismā'īl). This printed edition (Print N) was prepared by Muḥammad Badr Ad-Dīn An-Na'sānī who, as indicated on the title page of the print, collated two manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. One of the two manuscripts was ms. *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38; the other appears to be lost.<sup>12</sup> However, Na'sānī's printed edition does not represent a critical edition of the *Tafsīr*.

Three years later, in 1329/1911, Tustarī's *Tafsīr* was again printed at Cairo under the title *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm* (136 pages; Maimaniyyah press), published by Muḥammad Az-Zuhrī Al-Ġamrāwī (Print M). He does not refer to any manuscripts nor does he state the relationship of his edition to that of Na'sānī. Again, this print in no way constitutes a critical edition of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, but in all probability represents a mere reprint of Na'sānī's edition.

The physical state of the microfilm copies of the manuscripts and the quality of their textual exactitude evidence mss. *Fātiḥ* 638, *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515, *Gotha* 529 and *Ṣan'ā'* 62, in that order, as the most valuable witnesses of the text and as the principal basis for a critical edition of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. The two prints represent no reliable text but are handy though somewhat inaccurate versions of the original text.

The preceding description of the manuscripts, which are the extant and available witnesses of the textual tradition of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, has shown them to stand in the following chronological order:

ms. <i>Gotha</i> 529:	825/1422
ms. <i>Fātiḥ</i> 638:	872/1468
ms. <i>Ṣan'ā'</i> 62:	936/1530
ms. <i>Fātiḥ</i> 3488/2:	965/1558
ms. <i>Ẓāhiriyyah</i> 515:	12th/18th or 13th/19th century
ms. <i>Cairo</i> <sup>2</sup> I, 38:	1269/1853

<sup>11</sup> I am unable to determine whether ms. *Ẓāhiriyyah* 515 is definitely older than ms. *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38.

<sup>12</sup> The note on the title page runs: *ba'da muqābalah 'alā nushatain aḥaduhumā mahfūẓah fī dār al-kutubḥānah al-'arabiyyah wa't-tāniyyah bi-rivāq al-atrāk bi-miṣr*.

The six witnesses essentially represent a common text. In fact, the dissimilarities between the different manuscripts prove to be minor ones. Except for the *lacuna* in ms. *Fātiḥ* 3488/2, there is no single substantial addition or omission that would amount to more than three lines in the text. But there is a host of approximately two thousand minor textual divergencies.

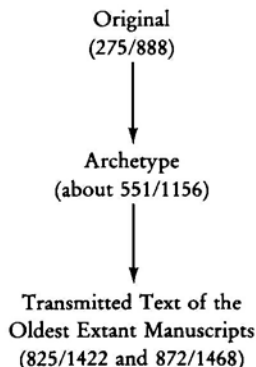
A good number of dissimilarities result from errors in the course of transcription and slight physical corruptions of a preceding copy. Very few instances of divergencies are indicative of an intentional change of text by a scribe. Sometimes they reflect an effort for a greater grammatical regularity of the text. Rarely they constitute a consequential textual change when they are dictated by doctrinal positions of a particular scribe. Some textual differences represent indicative errors from which inferences can be made about the interrelationship of the extant manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

The chronological order of the available manuscripts, the essential textual similarity of the witnesses, the abundant number of minor dissimilarities, and the inferences from the indicative errors of transcription have decisive implications for the interdependence of the witnesses and the establishing of the "archetype," the individual witness (no longer extant) that constitutes the common, identical exemplar from which all extant witnesses are derived. Since none of the witnesses is directly dependent on another, they have to be considered as separate, yet not direct descendants from the archetype. As such, they can be arranged in two groups; mss. *Gotha* 529, *Fātiḥ* 3488/2, *Zāhiriyyah* 515 and *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38 forming one group, mss. *Fātiḥ* 638 and *Ṣan'a'* 62 the other. This split into two groups however, does not constitute two distinct classes of witnesses because of the close similarity of all witnesses. It remains unknown how many intermediates there are between the archetype and the oldest witnesses, and between the oldest and the youngest extant witnesses. It appears, however, that the archetype antedates the oldest witnesses by a considerable period of time since the variants between ms. *Gotha* 529 and ms. *Fātiḥ* 638 imply that the two oldest witnesses are not dependent directly on an identical underlying copy but are separated by probably several intermediates from their common exemplar. This exemplar, the archetype, can be reconstructed to a great degree of precision by a critical edition of the text on the basis of the extant manuscripts.

## 2. The Transmission of the Text of Tustarī's Tafsīr

The preceding section demonstrates that none of the extant textual witnesses of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* antedates the 9th/15th century. As a result

there is a gap of more than five hundred years in the transmission of the text from the life time of Tustarī, the avowed author of the *Tafsir*, to the oldest manuscripts. In order to bridge this gap it is essential to determine the approximate time when the archetype was compiled and to define the relationship of this archetype to the original, that is, the no longer extant autograph copy of Tustarī's *Tafsir*. Thus, we have to trace the transmission of the text from the original to the archetype of the extant manuscripts:



A major piece of evidence for the transmission of Tustarī's *Tafsir* from the original to the archetype is represented by the chain of transmitters (*isnād*) at the beginning of the text:<sup>13</sup>

"We (the scribe of the archetype) were told by the master (and) preacher Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Abd Al-Ġabbār b Muḥammad b Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Abī'n-Naṣr Al-Baladī, who had an authorization which he communicated to me orally in the circle of Yūsuf, that his grandfather, the Imām Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Aḥmad Al-Baladī told him: the jurist Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Alī b Ibrāhīm Aṭ-Ṭā'ifi Aṣ-Ṣaffār related to us that Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b Aḥmad b Muḥammad Al-Ḥasan Al-Waḍḍāḥī was told by Abū'l-'Abbās 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Al-Ḥasan b 'Amr Al-Balḥī at Balḥ on the Sāsānid road that Abū Yūsuf Aḥmad b Muḥammad b Qais As-Siġzī related that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Al-Aṣ'at b Tamīm b Muḥāġir Az-Zaman As-Siġzī said: in the year 275 I heard Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh At-Tustarī say . . ."

This *isnād* has three distinct sections marked by different formulae (*alfāz*) of Ḥadīth methodology and is separated by two caesuras (the two colons in the English translation). The section, which marks the process of direct transmission from Tustarī to Abū Bakr As-Siġzī, is indicative of a

<sup>13</sup> The variant readings of ms. *Fātiḥ* 638 and ms. *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38, which omit Abū Bakr As-Siġzī, and the variant readings of ms. *Gotha* 529, which omit parts of Al-Waḍḍāḥī's and Al-Balḥī's names, are evidently scribal errors (they are corrected in the margin of ms. *Gotha* 529 and ms. *Fātiḥ* 638 by later hands). Both scribal errors are probably due to a slip of the pen at the recurrence of the same name in the following line (in the case of ms. *Fātiḥ* 638 and ms. *Cairo*<sup>2</sup> I, 38: As-Siġzī; in case of ms. *Gotha* 529: Al-Ḥasan).

process of oral communication (*samā'*). Then follows a section that enumerates the persons who acted as intermediaries in the transmission of the text (from Abū Bakr As-Siġzī to Abū Bakr Al-Baladī). Finally, the chain of transmitters records the process of transmission of the text within the Baladī family and records the way authorization (*iğāzah*) for transmission was granted to the anonymous scribe of the archetype. Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī, the grandson, read aloud Tustarī's *Tafsīr* in the presence of his grandfather Abū Bakr Al-Baladī and thus received its right to transmission. The same Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī granted transmission of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* to the anonymous scribe of the archetype by explicit oral authorization (*šāfahanī bihā*) in the circle of a certain Yūsuf (*fī dārati Yūsuf*) where it may have been read in a group (*aḥbaranā*).

The above mentioned *isnād* clearly fixes the year 275/888 as the date of compilation of the original of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. It lists the transmitters consecutive upon Tustarī up to the anonymous scribe of the archetype as follows:

<i>Original</i>	(275/888)	
Sahl At-Tustarī	(d. 283/896)	
Abū Bakr As-Siġzī		caesura
Abū Yūsuf As-Siġzī		
Al-Balḥī		
Al-Waḍḍāḥī		
Aṭ-Ṭā'ifi		
Abū Bakr Al-Baladī	(d. 504/1110)	caesura
Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī	(d. after 551/1156)	
<i>Archetype</i>	(about 551/1156)	

Abū Bakr As-Siġzī has been identified as far as possible in the preceding chapter. The subsequent four links in the chain (Abū Yūsuf As-Siġzī, Al-Balḥī, Al-Waḍḍāḥī, Aṭ-Ṭā'ifi) have not left any trace in the biographical literature. The last two links, however, can be identified with a satisfactory measure of precision. In about the second half of the 5th/11th century, Tustarī's *Tafsīr* passed into the hands of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Aḥmad Al-Baladī. Crucial references to Abū Bakr, his grandson Abū Naṣr, and their common *nisbah* Al-Baladī are found in the *Kitāb al-ansāb* of Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167)<sup>14</sup> and are confirmed by the *Mu'ğam al-buldān* of Yāqūt (d. 624/1229).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'īd 'Abd Al-Karīm b Abī Bakr Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-ansāb* (facsimile, D. S. Margoliouth), Leiden/London 1912, f. 89b.

<sup>15</sup> Yāqūt, Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ar-Rūmī Al-Hamawī, *Mu'ğam al-buldān* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld), 6 vols., Leipzig 1866–1873, cf. I, 717.



Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Aḥmad Al-Baladī lived in Nasaf (Transoxiana) and died in 504/1110. He was a well-known traditionist said to have transmitted Abū Ḥafs 'Umar b Muḥammad Al-Buḡairī's *Al-Ġāmi' as-ṣaḥīḥ* and to have studied under his father Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī (a *Qāḍī* and traditionist of Nasaf or Naḥṣāb), Abu'l-'Abbās Ġa'far b Muḥammad Al-Mustaḡfirī (d. 432/1040), the latter's son Abū Ḍarr Muḥammad b Ġa'far, and Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Alī Al-Māyamurḡī. Sam'ānī counts more than twenty men of Buḥārā, Samarqand, Nasaf and Māyamurḡ, who transmitted on Abū Bakr Al-Baladī's authority. Thus, according to Sam'ānī's testimony, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b Aḥmad Al-Baladī was a scholar of renown among the traditionists of Transoxiana in the second half of the 5th/11th century.

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Abd Al-Ġabbār b Muḥammad b Abi'n-Naṣr Al-Baladī was the grandson of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Al-Baladī. Sam'ānī himself journeyed to Nasaf in order to study the *Ġāmi'* of Buḡairī under Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Abd Al-Ġabbār Al-Baladī, and had his own son Abu'l-Muẓaffar study under this traditionist. In the year 551/1156, Sam'ānī left Abū Naṣr while he was still alive (*taraktuhu ḥayyan*). On the basis of this evidence, the last transmitter mentioned by name in Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b 'Abd Al-Ġabbār b Muḥammad b Abi'n-Naṣr Al-Baladī, proves to be identical with this traditionist of Transoxiana, who was a contemporary of Sam'ānī.

The discussion of the grandfather and grandson Al-Baladī involves the following genealogy of the Baladī family: Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī, the *qāḍī* and great-grandfather; Abū Bakr Muḥammad Al-Baladī, the grandfather (d. 504/1110); 'Abd Al-Ġabbār Al-Baladī, the father, not specifically mentioned; Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Al-Baladī, the grandson (d. after 551/1156). Both Sam'ānī and Yāqūt, relate how Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Al-Baladī, the grandson, accounted for the *nisbah* Al-Baladī as the name of his ancestors: "Most of the learned men at Nasaf (= Naḥṣāb) in the time of my ancestor (*ḡaddī al-a'lā*) Abū Naṣr came from the villages and the district (of Nasaf), but my great grandfather (*ḡaddī*) belonged to the people of *al-balad* (the town itself). Thus, he became known as Al-Baladī and this continued to be our name."

The anonymous scribe of the archetype mentions that he obtained authorization to the transmission of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* from Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Al-Baladī in the circle of Yūsuf. The specification "in the circle of Yūsuf (*fī dāratī Yūsuf*)" makes little sense without the presupposition that this Yūsuf was a personality, well-known to those to whom the scribe transmitted Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. On the other hand, a slight textual emendation not supported by the manuscripts and involving the uncommon change of the

letter *waw* into a *nūn*, would make this phrase read: "in his house at Nasaf (*fī dārihi bi-nasaf*)."

In the *Šarḥ*,<sup>16</sup> Ṣaḳalī at Makkah has a certain baker by the name of Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī relate a statement of Tustarī on the authority of Abu Ya'qūb An-Nahrağūrī (d. 330/941). If this baker could be identified with the *qāḍī* Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī, an external link between the *Šarḥ* and Tustarī's *Tafsīr* might be established. However, serious chronological difficulties (the baker must have lived in the 4th/10th century, the *qāḍī* in the 5th/11th century) militate against this identification on the basis of a common *kunyah* and *nisbah* alone. A certain Abū Ya'qūb Al-Baladī mentioned in Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt*, and in Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyah*,<sup>17</sup> as the transmitter of a statement by Tustarī does not seem to be a relation of the Baladī family (even a corrupt transmitter chain in these two works would make him at best identical with Abū Naṣr Al-Baladī, the transmitter of Abū Ya'qūb An-Nahrağūrī).

The examination of the chain of transmitters of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* yields information about a few transmitters, namely the two Baladīs. The *nisbah* indications of this *isnād* seem to trace the geographical route of the transmission of the text from Tustarī's circle at Baṣrah, possibly via Iṣṭaḥr or Siğistān, to Balḥ in Ḥurāsān, and from there to the region of Buḥārā in Transoxiana. The original, communicated by Tustarī of Abū Bakr As-Siğzī in 275/888, reached the anonymous scribe of the archetype in about the first half of the 6th/12th century. The oldest extant manuscripts of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* derived from this archetype through an unknown number of intermediates. The archetype itself can be reconstructed on the basis of the extant manuscripts.

It remains to be determined whether the archetype represents a trustworthy and authentic copy of the original, and to what extent Tustarī is to be considered its author. Both the question of the authenticity of the transmitted text and the problem of Tustarī's authorship, are intrinsically connected with each other and have to be solved by the internal evidence of the text itself and by the external evidence of parallel sections and quotations from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* found in prominent Ṣūfī primary sources.

<sup>16</sup> Ṣaḳalī, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān b Muḥammad, *Kitāb aṣ-ṣarḥ wa'l-bayān li-mā aṣkala min kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 189b.

<sup>17</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah* (ed. J. Pedersen), Leiden 1960, p. 203; Abū Nu'aim, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliya' wa-ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1357/1938; cf. X, 202.

### 3. The Authenticity of Tustarī's Tafsir

This section defines the substantial authenticity of the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsir* and establishes the fundamental identity of the transmitted text with the original on the basis of external evidence. This evidence principally relies on Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir*. The next section of this chapter advances a solution to the problem of compilation and authorship of the work and proceeds by inferences from the implications of the authenticity of the text established in this section.

The original of Tustarī's *Tafsir* is separated from its archetype by almost three centuries. There is no way to determine a word by word identity of the two. But the internal and external evidence of the text, reconstructed as the archetype, definitely argues in favour of the substantial similarity between the original and the transmitted text. The external evidence for this substantial agreement is found in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir*, an extremely important Ṣūfī primary source which remains as yet unpublished but is accessible to me in microfilm of two excellent manuscripts: ms. *Fātiḥ* 262 and ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433.<sup>18</sup>

Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir*, holds a unique place in the history of Ṣūfī commentary on the Qur'ān and fulfils the same function with regard to classical Ṣūfī *Tafsir* as Ṭabarī's famous *Ġāmi' al-bayān*<sup>19</sup> with regard to the early traditional exegesis of the Qur'ān. Both works are extensive and authoritative collections of items of Qur'ānic commentary within their own school of thought and embody the development of preceding centuries of Qur'ān interpretation. The basic difference between the two works lies in their scope. While Ṭabarī's work is broader in outline and most comprehensive of all trends of traditional Qur'ānic exegesis, Sulamī's work is narrower and most specific in that it is exclusively focused on Ṣūfī interpretation of the Qur'ān.

Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān As-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) collected in his *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir* some twelve thousand items of Ṣūfī interpretation of the Qur'ān, and arranged them one after the other consecutive upon the quotation of a Qur'ānic verse or phrase. The about three thousand Qur'ānic passages are selected according to their actual order in the Qur'ān and are taken from all

<sup>18</sup> Dr. R. Gramlich (Basel) had the extreme kindness of putting his photocopy of ms. *Fātiḥ* 262 (copied in 672/1274) at my disposal. Ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433 (copied in 564/1169) was located by me in the British Museum (London) although the manuscript is not listed in Sezgin, *GAS* I, 671 f.

<sup>19</sup> Ṭabarī, Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad b. Ġarīr b. Yazīd, *Ġāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Būlāq 1322–1330; cf. H. Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarī's", *ZDMG* 103 (1953), pp. 290–307.

*sūrahs* except *sūrahs* 87 and 105. Most of the almost hundred Šūfis, who are each time quoted by name along with their interpretative statement to a particular verse of the Qur'ān, belong to the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries. But the quotations of Šūfi *Tafsīr* items also comprise Šūfis of the second/eighth century as well as a good amount of anonymous Šūfi commentary. Sulamī's spectrum is not limited to any geographical centre of Šūfism: a Syrian like Dārānī (d. 215/832), Du'n-Nūn (d. 245/860) the Egyptian, or various Ḥurāsānian Šūfis are repeatedly quoted, as also such authorities as Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765). In general, the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, refers to an individual Šūfi by name or *nisbah* and as a rule disregards the *isnād*. A remarkable exception to this rule is Ḥallāğ whose aphorisms concerning Qur'ānic passages are in many references preceded by an *isnād*. Sulamī's most frequently cited sources are Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 309/921) and Abū Bakr Al-Wāsiṭī (d. 320/932). Along with these two, Tustarī, Ḥarrāz (d. 286/899), Ġunaid (d. 298/910) and Šiblī (d. 334/945), count among the six most frequently quoted Šūfi authorities whose Šūfi interpretation of the Qur'ān is assembled in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*.

In the introduction to the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* the author states his intention of establishing the Šūfi interpretation of the Qur'ān as an independent branch within the spectrum of the Muslim science of *Tafsīr* that is distinct from the traditional commentary on the Qur'ān. In order to achieve this objective he employs the method of collecting Šūfi items of Qur'ānic interpretation into one handbook (*maqālah*) arranged on the lines of a *Tafsīr*. Thus he says in a long sentence:<sup>20</sup>

"When I realized that those distinguished by the exoteric sciences compiled books (*ṣannafū*) concerning the various features of excellence (*fawā'id*) of the Qur'ān – with reference to ways of recital (*qirā'āt*) and interpretation (*tafsīr*), problematic issues (*muškilāt*) and legal consequences (*aḥkām*), expression (*i'rāb*) and idiom (*luğah*), (passages that are) comprehensive (*muğmal*) and commentative (*mufassar*), abrogating (*nāsikh*) and abrogated (*mansūkh*) – while none of them occupied himself with assembling the understanding (*fahm*) of its message (*ḥiṭāb*) on the basis of the language of reality ('*alā lisān al-ḥaqīqah*) except (by collecting the interpretations of) scattered verses attributed to Abū'l-'Abbās b 'Aṭā' and (interpretations of) verses mentioned on Ġa'far b Muḥammad's authority without any order (*ğair tartīb*), and whereas I had often heard from them (scil. the Šūfis) ways of reading (*ḥurūf*) concerning (the interpretation of the Qur'ān) which I appreciated as good and proper, I wanted to bring these together into one handbook (*maqālah*) of theirs. I, thus, collected the aphorisms of the masters of the mystics (*aqwāl mašāyih ahl al-ḥaqīqah*) and arranged (the material) corresponding to the Qur'ānic chapters (*suwar*) in accordance with my ability and aptitude. I asked God for guidance as I collected any of these, and during (my compilation) I turned to Him for help in all matters. He is my guardian, and what a perfect support is He!"

<sup>20</sup> Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, ms. *Fātiḥ* 262, f. 1b; ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433, f. 1b.

About 500 entries of commentary are quoted in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* under Tustarī's name (cited as "Sahl"). Though most of them are short and succinct, a few reach the length of a paragraph, while eight times a transmitter-chain (*isnād*) introduces one of Tustarī's aphorisms. All entries on Tustarī's authority are scattered throughout Sulamī's work as items of commentary to a specific Qur'ānic verse or phrase. A comparison of the items of commentary cited on Tustarī's authority in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* on the one hand and the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* on the other, demonstrates that both strands of Tustarī's Qur'ān commentary are very closely related. In fact, the bulk (about eighty percent) of the material cited on Tustarī's authority in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* is also found in the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and amounts to about one eighth of that transmitted text. The quotations from both works are frequently identical word for word; in other instances they vary only slightly. None of them implies any major discrepancy as to content and style. This identical manner of quotation is accompanied by an order of quotation in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* which in exactly the same sequence follows Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and arranges the particular items subsequent to identical Qur'ānic passages. Very few exceptions break this rule of identical quotation and sequence. The table of corresponding reference demonstrates this in detail (cf. *Table I*, overleaf).

The material quoted on Tustarī's authority in *'Arā'is al-bayān*, a commentary of the Qur'ān by Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān Al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209) available in lithograph,<sup>21</sup> is copied almost exclusively from Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*. There are, however, about two dozen passages cited under Tustarī's name in the *'Arā'is al-bayān* which have parallels in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* but cannot be located in our two manuscripts of the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* (cf. *Table II*, overleaf). In the absence of a reliable edition of Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* it may appear a precarious conjecture that Baqlī also employed Tustarī's *Tafsīr* as an independent direct source. Additional notes in the margin of individual manuscripts or omissions in the manuscript tradition of Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* could prove to be a sufficient explanation of this phenomenon. But Baqlī's direct access to a copy of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* is by no means improbable since Baqlī appears to be the earliest Šūfī authority to make the explicit claim that Tustarī was a scholar of Qur'ānic commentary (*mufasssīr*).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī'n-Naṣr Aṣ-Širāzī, *'Arā'is al-bayān fi ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols., Cawnpore 1301 A. H.

<sup>22</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī'n-Naṣr Aṣ-Širāzī, *Šarḥ-i ṣaṭḥiyāt* (ed. H. Corbin), Tehran 1966, p. 38.

The *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām* of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b Mūsā Aṣ-Ṣāṭibī (d. 790/1388) cites several items of Tustarī's Qur'ānic interpretation.<sup>23</sup> All of these quotations are directly derived in sequence from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and are linked organically with the relevant Qur'ānic verses (cf. *Table III*, overleaf). It is interesting to note that Ṣāṭibī's quotation of Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ān 3, 96 preserves the correct reading of a phrase that has been altered intentionally in the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, while his quotation of Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ān 27, 44 documents a small *lacuna* in that transmitted text.

The *Aṣ-Ṣifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* of 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā Al-Qāḍī (d. 544/1149) also includes some fragments of Tustarī's Qur'ānic interpretation.<sup>24</sup> Most of these fragments are linked with the identical Qur'ānic verses as in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* (cf. *Table IV*, overleaf).

**Table I**  
**Corresponding References**

Qur'ānic Verse	Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr		'Arā'is al-bayān Volume I	Tafsīr (Print M)
	ms. Fātiḥ	ms. Br. Mus.		
1, 5	6 a, 21	6 b, 17		7, 17
	6 b, 19	7 b, 1		
2, 1	7 b, 1	8 a, 9		8, 20
2, 2	7 b, 12	8 b, 7	12, 25	8, 25
2, 40	10 a, 14	11 b, 10	22, 11	
	10 b, 1	11 b, 20		
2, 41	10 b, 7	12 a, 7	22, 25	12, 19
	10 b, 11	12 a, 12		
	14 a, 8	16 b, 4		
2, 260	16 b, 7	20 a, 1	58, 1	18, 5
3, 18	19 a, 3	23 a, 5	73, 5	25, 3
	20 b, 14	25 a, 12	79, 6	
3, 35	21 a, 15	26 a, 1	80, 14	25, 18
	22 a, 21	27 b, 2		
3, 79	23 a, 4	28 a, 15	89, 15	26, 16
3, 85	23 b, 6	29 a, 5	92, 17	26, 25

<sup>23</sup> Ṣāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b Mūsā Al-Laḥmī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341/1922, III, 238–243.

<sup>24</sup> 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, Abū'l-Faḍl Al-Qāḍī Al-Yaḥṣubī Al-Andalusī, *Aṣ-Ṣifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā*, 2 vols., Damascus 1392, cf. I, 58; 59; 60; 69; 78; 92f.; 96; 191; II, 18; 22; 34; 45; 81; 125; 231.

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaḡā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume I</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fāṭih</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>		
4, 77	27b, 1	34 a, 9	117, 15	30, 27
	28 a, 21	35b, 2		
	29b, 6	37 a, 2		
	30 a, 20	38 a, 8	129, 7	
	31 a, 12	39 a, 9		
	31b, 9	39b, 11		
4, 29	32b, 10	41 a, 6		30, 2
4, 36	33 a, 18	42 a, 2	143, 14	30, 8
	33b, 13	42b, 4		
4, 76	33b, 15	42b, 7	146, 19	30, 24
4, 142	34 a, 2	42b, 18		32, 9
4, 63	34b, 5	43b, 12		30, 21
	35 a, 1	44 a, 6		
	35 a, 1	44 a, 7		
4, 76	35 a, 11	44 a, 18		30, 22
	35b, 5	—	154, 5	
4, 105	36 a, 14	45b, 9	158, 7	31, 20
	36b, 7	46 a, 6	159, 8	
	37 a, 8	46b, 12		
	37b, 15	47b, 5		
	38 a, 1	47b, 14	166, 10	
	38 a, 2	47b, 16		
	38b, 21	—	171, 22	
5, 3	39 a, 3	49 a, 5	172, 7	33, 8
5, 5	39b, 3	49b, 6		33, 14
	39b, mar.	49b, 15	174, 19	
5, 6	39b, 10	49b, 16		33, 14
	39b, 13	49b, 20		
5, 6	39b, 13	49b, 21		33, 10
	40b, 19	51 a, 17		
	41 a, 12	51b, 16	178, 22	
	41 a, 15	51b, 20	179, 5	
	41 a, 19	52 a, 5	179, 16	
	42b, 11	53b, 7		
	42b, 16	53b, 13	184, 17	
	43b, 1	54b, 8		
	43b, 11	54b, 20	190, 6	
	44 a, 9	55b, 1	191, 8	
	44 a, 15	55b, 4	192, 3	
	44b, 5	55b, 19		
	44b, 13	56 a, 6		
	50 a, 3	63 a, 5		
	50b, 16	64 a, 8	224, 8	
6, 120	51b, 13	65b, 2	229, 9	36, 4

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>	<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume I</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	52 a, 5	65 b, 21	230, 10	
	52 a, 9	—		
	52 a, 12	66 a, 7		
	52 a, 18	66 a, 16	232, 2	
6, 127	52 a, 19	66 a, 17	233, 2	36, 23
6, 147	52 b, 2	66 b, 2		36, 26
	52 b, 16	66 b, 19		
7, 20	54 b, 19	69 a, 14		38, 8
7, 33	56 b, 4	71 a, 18	255, 7	38, 23
7, 43	56 b, 8	71 b, 4		38, 25
7, 46	56 b, 14	71 b, 12	257, 2	38, 26
7, 68	57 b, 19	73 a, 5		39, 5
7, 68	57 b, 19	73 a, 7		39, 7
7, 128	58 b, 11	—	267, 11	39, 18
7, 146	61 a, 18	77 b, 9	280, 4	39, 20
7, 148	61 b, 3	77 b, 16	280, 17	39, 27
	62 b, 10	79 a, 7		
7, 182	64 a, 4	80 b, 19	295, 14	42, 2
7, 185	64 a, 8	—		42, 3
7, 188	64 a, 11	81 a, 3		42, 8
7, 198	64 b, 13	81 b, 10	297, 24	42, 10
7, 205	65 a, 18	82 a, 16	300, 1	42, 16
8, 1	65 b, 1	82 a, 21	300, 21	42, 20
8, 2	65 b, 7	82 b, 9	301, 9	42, 23
8, 11	66 b, 9	84 a, 3	305, 18	42, 24
8, 29	68 a, 10	85 b, 20	311, 17	43, 2
8, 53	68 b, 18	86 b, 15		43, 8
	72 a, 8	91 a, 9		
9, 67	72 a, 20	91 b, 4	336, 4	43, 24
9, 73	72 b, 4	91 b, 12	337, 14	44, 2
	74 a, 4	93 b, 13	344, 12	
9, 108	74 a, 5	93 b, 15		44, 6
9, 111	74 a, 13	94 a, 5	345, 10	44, 8
9, 112	74 b, 15	94 b, 17		44, 15
	75 b, 18	96 a, 16	353, 1	
	76 a, 4	96 b, 4	353, 12	
10, 2	76 b, 16	97 a, 19	356, 15	45, 20
10, 3	77 a, 1	97 b, 8		45, 22
10, 12	77 a, 19	—		45, 24
10, 62	80 b, 9	102 b, 3		46, 10
10, 109	82 a, 14	104 b, 4	381, 24	46, 27
11, 3	82 b, 3	104 b, 20	382, 20	47, 5
11, 3	82 b, 8	105 a, 6	383, 13,	47, 7
11, 113	87 b, 11	111 b, 15	402, 14	48, 25



<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>	<i>Volume I u. II</i>	
12, 6	89 a, 3	113b, 2	409, 17	48, 27
12, 24	91 a, 21	116b, 7		49, 6
	92 a, 21	117b, 21		
12, 36	93 a, 13	118b, 21		49, 24
12, 52	94 a, 21	120 a, 20	427, 7	49, 26
12, 53	94b, 12	120b, 13	428, 11	49, 16
	94b, 13	120b, 15	428, 12	
	94b, 14	120b, 16	428, 13	
	94b, 15	120b, 17		
12, 53	94b, 19	121 a, 2	428, 15	49, 15
	95 a, 2	—		
12, 86	97 a, 11	124 a, 6	440, 10	50, 10
12, 101	98b, 3	126 a, 5	449, 25	50, 18
13, 36	103 a, 17	132b, 12		51, 23
13, 39	103b, 11	133 a, 12	477, 7	51, 24
	—	133 a, 18		
13, 43	104 a, 16	134 a, 1	479, 3	51, 26
14, 11	105 a, 8	135 a, 8	483, 10	52, 8
14, 19	105 a, 17	135 a, 20	484, 12	52, 9
14, 34	106b, 6	136b, 19	490, 12	53, 6
15, 40	109 a, 19	140b, 11	510, 1	53, 19
16, 21	112 a, 21	144 a, 21	526, 6	55, 6
16, 36	112b, 14	144b, 18		55, 8
16, 90	115 a, 3	148 a, 3		56, 10
16, 97	115b, 9	148b, 21		56, 16
16, 110	116 a, 3	149b, 1	541, 22	56, 18
16, 119	116 a, 13	149b, 14	543, 4	56, 24
16, 127	117 a, 7	151 a, 1		57, 1
17, 8	117b, 18	152 a, 7	549, 12	57, 3
17, 11	118 a, 5	152a, 17	550, 4	57, 6
17, 57	119b, 20	155 a, 5	560, 23	57, 26
17, 80	121 a, 8	156b, 13	565, 19	58, 8
17, 80	121 a, 21	157 a, 11		58, 12
17, 107	123b, 9	158b, 13	570, 3	58, 14
18, 7	124 a, 15	159b, 12	573, 3	58, 19
	124 a, 19	159b, 19	573, 3	
18, 7	124 a, 21	160 a, 1		58, 18
18, 13	124b, 20	160b, 8		58, 26
18, 13	124b, 20	160b, 8	576, 3	58, 25
18, 17	125b, 5	161b, 7		58, 27
	125b, 16	161b, 21		
18, 28	127 a, 4	163b, 5	586, 9	59, 5
18, 55	127b, 19	164b, 14		59, 24
18, 110	130 a, 1	167b, 7	599, 5	60, 3

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>		
19, 13	136 a, 14	169 a, 10	6, 17	60, 6
19, 31	137 a, 1	170 a, 19		60, 8
19, 32	137 a, 2	170 b, 1	10, 15	60, 10
	137 a, 13	171 a, 1		
19, 76	138 b, 1	173 a, 11	16, 5	61, 15
20, 18	140 a, 20	176 b, 9	27, 18	62, 15
20, 39	141 a, 18	178 a, 21		62, 18
20, 40	141 b, 4	178 b, 12	31, 22	62, 21
20, 41	141 b, 10	179 a, 2	32, 11	62, 22
20, 42	141 b, 12	179 a, 5	32, 14	62, 22
	141 b, 18	179 a, 17		
20, 81	142 a, 7	179 b, 14		63, 5
20, 111	143 a, 5	181 a, 7	37, 25	63, 9
20, 123	143 b, 20	182 a, 13	41, 1	63, 10
20, 131	144 a, 8	182 b, 5		63, 12
21, 7	144 b, 8	183 a, 15	42, 25	63, 16
21, 10	144 b, 10	183 a, 18	43, 6	63, 19
21, 27	145 a, 8	184 a, 3		63, 20
21, 35	145 a, 14	184 a, 11	44, 20	63, 23
21, 83	147 a, 4	186 b, 15		63, 24
	147 a, 8	186 b, 21		
21, 105	148 b, 13	189 a, 11	52, 18	64, 12
21, 106	148 b, 17	189 a, 17	52, 22	64, 14
22, 3	149 a, 15	190 a, 1	55, 4	64, 19
	151 a, 8	192 b, 4	59, 2	
	151 b, 8	193 a, 14	60, 7	
	151 b, 18	193 b, 1		
22, 46	151 b, 19	193 b, 2	60, 10	66, 1
	151 b, 21	193 b, 6	60, 18	
22, 54	152 a, 2	193 b, 7		66, 11
23, 17	154 a, 18	—	69, 1	67, 3
23, 51	154 b, 11	197 a, 16		67, 9
	154 b, 13	197 a, 16		
23, 76	156 a, 13	199 a, 12	75, 11	67, 13
24, 1	157 a, 6	200 a, 15	77, 28	67, 16
24, 26	157 b, 6	201 a, 14		67, 21
24, 35	158 b, 1	202 a, 21		68, 3
25, 1	163 a, 13	208 b, 11		68, 15
25, 58	165 a, 20	211 a, 16		69, 11
	166 b, 2	212 b, 19		
	167 a, 9	213 b, 16		
25, 70	167 a, 12	213 b, 16		69, 15
25, 72	167 b, 1	214 a, 11	100, 4	69, 17
26, 3	168 a, 7	215 a, 3	102, 1	69, 20

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaḳā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>		
26, 3	168 a, 7	215 a, 5		69, 20
	168 a, 10	215 a, 7		
26, 80	169 b, 21	217 a, 21		70, 1
26, 81	170 a, 8	217 b, 9		70, 2
26, 84	170 a, 19	218 a, 2	106, 19	70, 5
26, 89	171 a, 3	218 b, 17		70, 6
	171 a, 7			
	171 b, 3	219 b, 7		
26, 212	171 b, 10	219 b, 16		
26, 214	171 b, 13		100, 3	70, 8
27, 10	172 b, 15	221 a, 20		70, 13
27, 19	173 b, 10	222 b, 12	113, 6	70, 19
27, 52	175 a, 4	224 b, 9	118, 1	70, 20
26, 227	175 a, 10	224 b, 17		70, 10
27, 59	175 a, 11	224 b, 19		70, 22
27, 62	175 b, 18	225 b, 12	119, 10	70, 24
	175 b, 21	225 b, 15		
27, 65	176 b, 1	226 a, 20		71, 3
27, 73	176 b, 4	226 b, 2		71, 13
27, 88	177 a, 1	227 a, 2		71, 15
28, 8	178 a, 4	228 a, 14		71, 20
28, 76	181 b, 20	232 b, 16		72, 3
28, 78	182 a, 11	233 a, 9	132, 8	72, 6
29, 17	184 a, 13	235 b, 7	136, 1	72, 22
29, 21	184 a, 18	235 b, 17		72, 26
29, 43	184 b, 11	236 a, 17	136, 20	73, 1
29, 45	184 b, 18	236 b, 3		73, 4
29, 56	185 b, 1	237 a, 11	138, 4	73, 7
30, 4	187 a, 4	239 a, 6	140, 8	73, 11
	188 a, 8	240 a, 18	142, 20	
30, 40	188 a, 17	240 b, 7		73, 13
30, 41	188 b, 7	240 b, 18		73, 17
	188 b, 12	241 a, 3		
30, 50	189 a, 7	241 a, 21		74, 3
31, 6	189 b, 13	242 a, 7	144, 25	74, 6
31, 22	191 a, 18	244 a, 6	147, 22	74, 13
31, 34	191 b, 20	244 b, 11	149, 6	74, 16
31, 34	191 b, 21	244 b, 12	149, 6	74, 18
32, 5	192 a, 5	244 b, 17	149, 22	74, 27
32, 5	192 a, 7	244 b, 19		74, 27
32, 13	192 a, 15	245 a, 8		75, 4
32, 15	192 b, 2	245 a, 19		75, 5
32, 16	192 b, 4	245 b, 1	151, 14	75, 6
32, 16	192 b, 14	245 b, 12		75, 9

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>	<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
32, 17	193 a, 9	246 a, 9	151, 21	75, 10
	194 a, 11	247 a, 17		
33, 4	194 a, 12	247 a, 18		75, 14
33, 6	194 a, 14	247 a, 21	154, 12	75, 20
33, 8	194 b, 15	248 a, 8	155, 6	75, 4
33, 35	195 b, 14	249 a, 17	157, 7	76, 9
33, 35	195 b, 18	249 a, 21		76, 12
33, 35	196 a, 4	249 b, 8		76, 17
33, 35	196 a, 6	249 b, 10	157, 13	76, 19
	196 b, 15	250 b, 4		
33, 38	197 a, 13	251 a, 1	158, 25	76, 23
33, 71	198 a, 19	252 a, 13	161, 6	77, 1
34, 37	200 b, 1	254 b, 17	163, 15	77, 10
34, 39	200 b, 3	254 b, 19	163, 21	77, 11
34, 46	200 b, 5	254 b, 21	163, 24	77, 12
35, 6	201 a, 8	255 b, 8	165, 23	77, 16
35, 10	201 a, 13	255 b, 14	166, 14	77, 18
35, 15	201 a, 16	255 b, 17		77, 20
35, 15	201 b, 3	256 a, 7		77, 21
35, 15	201 b, 21	256 b, 7		77, 24
	206 a, 14	262 a, 3		
35, 34	206 b, 4	262 a, 17		79, 5
	208 a, 20	264 b, 7		
	210 b, 10	267 a, 17		
37, 143	211 a, 7	267 b, 19		79, 16
38, 20	211 b, 14	268 b, 12		79, 25
38, 20	211 b, 16	268 b, 15		79, 25
	211 b, 17	268 b, 16	182, 25	
38, 24	212 a, 4	269 a, 6		80, 1
38, 35	213 a, 6	270 a, 5		80, 6
38, 46	214 a, 14	271 a, 21		80, 9
38, 46	214 a, 14	271 b, 2	188, 17	80, 9
	214 b, 4	—		
39, 7	215 a, 14	272 b, 8	192, 11	80, 13
39, 9	215 b, 5	273 a, 1	193, 8	80, 14
39, 9	215 b, 6	273 a, 2		80, 15
39, 11	216 a, 3	273 b, 3		80, 16
39, 11	216 a, 3	273 b, 4		80, 16
39, 17	216 a, 11	273 b, 13	195, 3	80, 19
39, 42	218 a, 19	276 a, 14	200, 8	80, 26
	218 b, 4			
	218 b, 6	276 b, 3		
	218 b, 6	276 b, 5		
	218 b, 9	276 b, 7		

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fāṭih</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>		
	218b, 10	276b, 9		
	218b, 14	276b, 13	201, 1	
	218b, 17	276b, 17	201, 16	
39, 53	219 a, 4	277 a, 5	202, 10	81, 17
	—	277 a, 13	202, 18	
39, 56	219 a, 19	277b, 1	203, 3	81, 27
39, 63	219b, 15	277b, 17	204, 9	82, 2
	220a, 3	278 a, 8		
39, 67	220 a, 11	278 a, 17	205, 22	82, 4
39, 69	220 a, 19	278b, 5	206, 12	82, 8
40, 1	220b, 15	279 a, 3	208, 15	82, 14
40, 3	220b, 18	279 a, 6	208, 15	82, 16
	221 a, 4	279 a, 12	208, 23	
40, 7	221 a, 9	279 a, 18	209, 22	82, 20
40, 10	221 a, 17	279b, 6		82, 21
40, 15	221b, 9	—	211, 16	82, 23
	223 a, 6	281b, 9	214, 2	
40, 60	223b, 4	282 a, 10		83, 1
40, 81	224 a, 12	283 a, 5	216, 5	83, 3
40, 85	224 a, 16	283 a, 9	216, 10	83, 7
41, 1	224b, 8	283b, 8	216, 17	83, 11
41, 3	224b, 13	283b, 13	216, 22	83, 12
41, 5	224b, 16	283b, 16	217, 4	83, 13
41, 33	226 a, 13	285b, 1	220, 25	83, 26
41, 49	227 a, 7	286b, 2	225, 6	84, 2
41, 51	227 a, 8	286b, 3		84, 4
41, 53	227 a, 14	286b, 11		84, 5
	228 a, 7	287b, 11	228, 23	
42, 13	228b, 16	288b, 3		84, 17
42, 20	229b, 13	289b, 4		84, 20
	229b, 16	289b, 8	233, 1	
42, 24	230 a, 4	289b, 21	233, 10	85, 3
43, 1	231 a, 17	291 a, 19	238, 14	85, 7
43, 4	231 a, 19	291 a, 21	238, 21	85, 8
43, 13	231b, 3	291b, 6		85, 10
43, 15	231b, 7	291b, 11		85, 13
	231b, 9	291b, 13	239, 12	
43, 32	232 a, 3	292 a, 10	240, 3	85, 14
43, 32	232 a, 8	292 a, 15	240, 8	85, 15
43, 36	232 a, 18	292b, 5	240, 13	85, 16
43, 55	232b, 11	292b, 21	241, 18	85, 18
43, 55	232b, 13	293 a, 3		85, 21
43, 70	233 a, 13	293b, 5	242, 9	85, 23
43, 71	233b, 2	293b, 17	242, 13	85, 25

<i>Qur'ānic</i> Verse	<i>Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr</i> <i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>	<i>'Arā'is al-bayān</i> Volume II	<i>Tafsīr</i> (Print M)
44, 3	233b, 16	294 a, 11	244, 21	86, 3
44, 10	233b, 21	294 a, 17	245, 12	86, 6
44, 8	234 a, 2	294 a, 19		86, 12
44, 24	234 a, 6	294b, 3	245, 23	86, 13
44, 42	234 a, 16	294b, 16	246, 16	86, 15
45, 3	234b, 10	295 a, 13	248, 1	86, 18
45, 17	235a, 6	295b, 12		87, 5
45, 18	235 a, 8	295b, 16	248, 19	87, 8
45, 19	235 a, 10	295b, 18		87, 10
45, 21	235 a, 14	296 a, 2		87, 12
45, 23	235 a, 18	296 a, 6	248, 24	87, 15
45, 23	235 a, 20	296 a, 8	248, 24	87, 17
45, 26	235b, 1	296 a, 12	249, 6	87, 19
45, 28	235b, 2	296 a, 14	249, 9	87, 20
45, 37	235b, 7	296 a, 19	249, 18	87, 23
46, 6	235b, 14	296b, 7		87, 27
46, 9	235b, 15	296b, 8	250, 20	88, 3
46, 15	236a, 12	297 a, 9	251, 20	88, 6
	236 a, 18	297 a, 16		
46, 15	236 a, 20	297 a, 18	251, 24	88, 7
	236b, 2	297b, 1		
46, 31	237 a, 2	298 a, 6	252, 13	88, 9
46, 35	237 a, 5	298 a, 9	253, 10	88, 12
	237 a, 16	298b, 4	253, 19	
47, 24	237b, 1	298b, 10		89, 4
47, 14	237b, 17	299a, 12		89, 14
47, 19	239 a, 2	300b, 12		89, 15
	239b, 14	301b, 10		
47, 38	240 a, 14	302 a, 16	258, 25	89, 19
48, 4	241 a, 15	303b, 12	261, 17	90, 1
48, 8	241 a, 21	303b, 21	261, 25	90, 7
	241b, 4	304 a, 4	262, 11	
48, 25	241b, 21	304b, 7	264, 6	90, 15
	242 a, 3	304b, 11		
48, 26	242 a, 17	305 a, 9		90, 24
48, 27	242 a, 21	305 a, 13	264, 25	91, 1
48, 29	243 a, 1	306 a, 3	266, 4	91, 4
49, 1	243 a, 11	306 a, 15	266, 21	91, 10
49, 2	243 a, 15	306 a, 20	267, 6	91, 12
49, 6	243b, 8	306b, 18		91, 14
	253b, 10	306b, 20	267, 23	
49, 8	243b, 11	307 a, 1	268, 1	91, 15
49, 9	243b, 16	307 a, 7	268, 14	91, 21
	244b, 11	308 a, 5		

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān</i> <i>Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr</i> <i>(Print M)</i>
<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>			
49, 12	244 b, 14	308 a, 8		92, 5
49, 14	245 a, 3	308 b, 2	269, 18	92, 15
49, 17	245 a, 18	309 a, 1		92, 18
50, 1	245 a, 21	309 a, 5	271, 16	92, 22
50, 1	245 b, 1	309 a, 8	271, 18	92, 25
50, 8	245 b, 4	309 a, 11	271, 23	92, 26
50, 14	245 b, 12	309 b, 2		93, 1
50, 22	246 a, 2	309 b, 20		93, 11
50, 29	246 a, 5	310 a, 2	273, 16	93, 12
50, 32	246 a, 7	310 a, 6	274, 2	93, 13
	247 a, 4	311 a, 21		
51, 15	247 b, 14	312 b, 9	277, 21	93, 21
51, 17	247 b, 18	312 b, 15	277, 21	93, 23
51, 20	248 a, 5	313 a, 4	278, 10	94, 6
51, 50	249 a, 3	314 b, 1	279, 21	94, 20
51, 54	249 a, 19	315 a, 2		94, 22
52, 4	250 a, 3	316 a, 3	282, 20	95, 1
52, 26	250 a, 7	316 a, 11		95, 4
52, 48	250 a, 17	316 b, 5	284, 9	95, 5
52, 48	250 b, 9	317 a, 4	284, 25	95, 7
52, 49	250 b, 12	317 a, 9	285, 3	95, 8
53, 2	250 b, 20	317 b, 3	285, 23	95, 12
53, 11	251 b, 3	318 b, 1		95, 16
53, 17	251 b, 17	318 b, 19	289, 5	95, 23
53, 18	251 b, 20	319 a, 3	289, 11	95, 25
53, 40	252 b, 13	320 a, 15	291, 13	96, 2
53, 43	252 b, 18	320 b, 1	291, 17	96, 4
55, 4	254 a, 4	322 a, 16	296, 7	96, 24
55, 17	254 a, 16	322 b, 11	297, 1	96, 27
55, 20	254 a, 18	322 b, 14	297, 22	97, 6
55, 56	255 a, 10	323 b, 17		97, 14
	256 a, 1	324 b, 19	301, 10	
56, 3	256 a, 4	325 a, 3	301, 17	97, 21
56, 10	256 a, 9	325 a, 9	301, 25	97, 24
56, 10	256 a, 10	325 a, 11		97, 26
56, 13	256 a, 18	325 b, 3		97, 27
56, 25	256 b, 3	325 b, 11		98, 3
56, 90	257 b, 8	327 b, 2	305, 1	98, 11
57, 3	258 a, 2	328 a, 4		98, 15
57, 4	259 b, 4	330 a, 10	308, 1	98, 19
57, 6	259 b, 8	330 a, 21	308, 19	98, 22
57, 11	259 b, 16	330 b, 13	309, 5	99, 2
57, 12	260 a, 1	331 a, 1	309, 11	99, 5
57, 13	260 a, 5	331 a, 9		99, 9

<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>			
57, 16	260 a, 16	331 b, 6	309, 19	99, 20
57, 16	260 b, 4	331 b, 19		99, 21
	260 b, 15	332 a, 15		
57, 20	261 a, 3	332 b, 9		99, 22
57, 23	261 a, 16	333 a, 9	310, 25	100, 5
57, 27	261 b, 15	333 b, 19	311, 18	100, 7
57, 28	261 b, 21	334 a, 7	312, 12	100, 9
58, 10	262 a, 10	334 b, 7	314, 8	100, 11
58, 9	262 a, 11	334 b, 9	314, 4	100, 13
58, 22	262 a, 20	335 a, 2		100, 14
58, 22	262 b, 3	335 a, 8	315, 24	100, 19
58, 22	262 b, 14	335 b, 4	316, 7	100, 26
59, 2	263 b, 15	337 a, 1	317, 15	101, 3
59, 7	264 a, 3	337 a, 13		101, 7
	264 a, 4	337 a, 15	319, 3	
59, 9	264 a, 6	337 a, 17	318, 24	101, 20
59, 14	264 a, 15	337 b, 9	319, 18	101, 21
59, 19	264 b, 1	337 b, 20	320, 2	102, 1
59, 22	264 b, 16	338 a, 21	321, 12	102, 5
60, 10	265 b, 9	339 b, 12	323, 12	102, 17
62, 11	266 a, 18	340 b, 15	326, 14	103, 11
62, 11	266 a, 20	340 b, 18	326, 14	103, 14
63, 1	266 b, 1	340 b, 21	326, 22	103, 17
63, 9	267 a, 3	341 b, 14	327, 22	103, 23
64, 2	267 a, 7	342 a, 1		104, 7
	267 a, 19	342 a, 17		
	267 b, 11	342 b, 14	329, 20	
65, 2	267 b, 17	343 a, 2		104, 20
65, 2	267 b, 20	343 a, 6	331, 12	104, 22
65, 2	267 b, 21	343 a, 8	331, 14	104, 24
	268 b, 7	344 a, 4		
66, 6	269 a, 8	344 b, 16	332, 18	105, 8
66, 8	269 b, 11	345 b, 10	333, 9	105, 18
67, 1	269 b, 19	346 a, 5	334, 4	105, 22
67, 2	270 a, 6	346 a, 16	334, 13	105, 24
67, 2	270 a, 17	346 b, 8		106, 7
67, 14	270 b, 8	347 a, 3		106, 13
67, 15	270 b, 15	347 a, 14	335, 16	106, 17
68, 1	271 a, 3	347 b, 8	337, 2	106, 23
68, 3	271 a, 8	347 b, 16	337, 9	107, 1
68, 4	271 a, 12	347 b, 19	337, 17	107, 2
69, 1	272 b, 10	350 a, 6	339, 14	107, 19
69, 48	273 a, 10	350 b, 16		109, 4
69, 50	273 a, 11	350 b, 19		109, 5



<i>Qur'ānic Verse</i>	<i>Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr</i>		<i>'Arā'is al-bayān</i>	<i>Tafsīr (Print M)</i>
	<i>ms. Fātiḥ</i>	<i>ms. Br. Mus.</i>	<i>Volume II</i>	
70, 4	273 a, 21	351 a, 14	342, 10	109, 8
70, 5	273 b, 1	351 a, 16	342, 13	109, 11
70, 7	273 b, 4	351 a, 21	342, 15	109, 14
70, 19	273 b, 7	351 b, 4	342, 22	109, 22
70, 21	273 b, 11	351 b, 10	342, 24	109, 23
70, 33	274 a, 2	352 a, 5	343, 11	110, 9
71, 7	274 a, 6	352 a, 12	343, 25	110, 12
71, 25	274 a, 15	352 b, 5		110, 16
72, 2	274 a, 19	352 b, 12		110, 22
72, 18	274 b, 9	353 a, 7		111, 5
73, 6	275 a, 10	354 a, 1	346, 21	111, 15
73, 8	275 a, 13	354 a, 6		111, 20
73, 9	275 b, 2	354 b, 2		111, 21
74, 1	275 b, 14	355 a, 1	348, 18	112, 4
74, 56	276 a, 19	355 b, 19		112, 11
75, 2	276 b, 2	356 a, 5	350, 24	112, 21
76, 5	277 a, 16	357 a, 17	353, 24	113, 16
76, 7	277 b, 2	357 b, 7	354, 10	113, 22
76, 21	277 b, 10	358 a, 2	354, 25	113, 26
76, 21	277 b, 19	358 a, 17		114, 2
77, 15	278 a, 17	359 a, 4		114, 11
77, 35	278 a, 18	359 a, 6		114, 13
77, 46	278 a, 21	359 a, 10		114, 14
79, 16	279 a, 3	360 a, 7	358, 10	115, 6
79, 38	279 a, 17	360 b, 7		115, 7
79, 40	279 b, 2	360 b, 18	359, 20	115, 14
	280 b, 6	362 b, 9		
84, 2	282 b, 1	365 b, 11		117, 24
85, 3	282 b, 12	366 a, 9	368, 4	118, 14
85, 22	283 a, 21	367 a, 15		118, 18
	283 b, 18	368 a, 6		
91, 9	285 a, 21	370 b, 11		122, 1
	285 b, 21	371 b, 4	375, 14	
93, 4	286 a, 13	372 a, 3	376, 7	122, 21
93, 7	286 b, 5	372 a, 20		122, 25
94, 1	287 a, 13	374 a, 6	377, 23	123, 4
97, 1	288 a, 13	375 b, 5	380, 19	124, 19
97, 4	288 a, 16	375 b, 9	380, 22	124, 20
98, 5	288 a, 18	375 b, 13		124, 21
98, 8	289 b, 2	377 a, 19	381, 15	125, 1
99, 6	289 b, 6	377 b, 4		125, 6
102, 3	290 a, 4	378 a, 18	383, 17	126, 19
102, 5	290 a, 5	378 a, 20		126, 22
102, 7	290 a, 20	378 b, 20		126, 24
108, 1	291 a, 9	380 a, 14		129, 16
	293 b, 19	384 b, 14	391, 22	

Table II

Textual Correspondence between Baqlī's 'Arā'is al-bayān and Tustarī's Tafsīr that cannot be located in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* (ms. *Fātiḥ* 262 and ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433)

'Arā'is al-bayān Volume I	Tafsīr (Print M)	'Arā'is al-bayān Volume II	Tafsīr (Print M)
6, 3	6, 26	238, 7	85, 5
8, 11	7, 4	254, 7	88, 25
17, 17	9, 24	297, 22	97, 3
23, 7	13, 6	336, 2	106, 19
52, 18	17, 18	361, 23	116, 9
59, 23	21, 13	368, 13	118, 16
61, 7	21, 14 + 27	372, 10	120, 8
63, 12	22, 13	374, 24	122, 5
69, 17	24, 13	378, 3	123, 7
70, 7	24, 17		
184, 10	33, 20		
192, 9	41, 20		
197, 4	34, 24		
217, 23	35, 17		
265, 3	39, 13		
442, 18	50, 3		

Table III

Textual Correspondence between Šāṭibī's *Muwāfaqāt* and Tustarī's Tafsīr (including references to Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* and Baqlī's 'Arā'is al-bayān).

Qur'ānic verse	Šāṭibī's <i>Muwāfaqāt</i>	Tafsīr (Print M)	Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr ms. <i>Fātiḥ</i>	ms. <i>Br. Mus.</i>	'Arā'is al-bayān
2, 22	III, 238	9, 24	—	—	I, 17, 17
2, 35 (= 7, 19)	240	11, 14	—	—	—
3, 96	241	27, 10	—	—	—
4, 51	241	30, 24	—	—	—
4, 36	241	30, 8	33 a, 18	42 a, 2	I, 143, 14
27, 44	242	—	—	—	—
27, 52	242	70, 20	175 a, 4	224 b, 9	II, 118, 1
30, 50	242	74, 3	189 a, 7	241 a, 21	—
30, 41	242	73, 17	188 b, 7	240 b, 18	—

Table IV

Textual Correspondence between 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā's *Šifā'* and Tustarī's *Tafsīr*  
(including references to Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* and Baqlī's *'Arā'is al-bayān*).

Qur'ānic verse	'Iyāḍ b Mūsā's <i>Šifā'</i>	<i>Tafsīr</i> (Print M)	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i> ms. Fātiḥ	<i>Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr</i> ms. Br. Mus.	' <i>Arā'is</i> <i>al-bayān</i>
1, 5	II, 22	—	6b, 19	7b, 1	—
2, 1	I, 92f	8, 20	7b, 1	8 a, 9	—
2, 260	II, 231	18, 5	16b, 7	20 a, 1	I, 58, 1
10, 2	I, 78	45, 20	76b, 16	97 a, 19	I, 356, 15
14, 34	I, 69	—	106b, 6	136b, 19	I, 490, 12
24, 35	I, 58	68, 3	158b, 1	202 a, 21	—
24, 35	I, 59	—	—	—	—
49, 1	II, 81	91, 10	243 a, 11	306 a, 15	II, 266, 21
59, 7	II, 34	101, 7	264 a, 3	337 a, 13	—
59, 7	II, 18	—	264 a, 4	337 a, 15	II, 319, 3
93, 4	I, 96	122, 21	286 a, 13	372 a, 3	II, 376, 7
94, 1	I, 60	123, 4	287 a, 13	374 a, 6	II, 377, 23

While the external evidence of Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* (and of Baqlī's *'Arā'is al-bayān*) is decisive for the authenticity of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, the external evidence of parallel sections and quotations of other Ṣūfī primary sources confirms and completes the spectrum. Their examination, as seen in chapter I, establishes a considerable body of the Tustarī tradition. Only a small fraction of the examined material, however, can be considered as literal quotations or direct parallel sections of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. It amounts to not more than two percent of the transmitted text of the *Tafsīr*. The bulk of this material concurs with the tenor of indirect parallels and passages of similar content in the *Tafsīr*. While the passages of the Tustarī tradition found in Ṣūfī primary sources frequently merely adumbrate certain themes of Tustarī's mystic thought, the *Tafsīr* develops them at greater detail in various passages scattered throughout the work.

The external evidence of the sources that has been marshalled here and in Chapter 1, in view of the authenticity of the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, leads to the following results. The observation of the identical quotation and sequence of the relevant material in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* (and in the *'Arā'is al-bayān*) and in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* leads to the conclusion that, towards the close of the 4th/10th century, there existed a collection of Tustarī's interpretative aphorisms on selected Qur'ānic verses, arranged according to the principle of a continuous commentary and antecedent to

Sulamī's compilation of the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*. This collection was either identical with the original of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* or it represented an extract from that original which may have been incorporated into a larger work that served as Sulamī's direct source. It is however not improbable that Sulamī had direct access to a copy of the original of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, since he states explicitly in the introduction to the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* that he himself collected the Ṣūfī aphorisms and assembled them.

The basic correspondence in quotation and sequence between the material of the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, cited on Tustarī's authority, and large sections in the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* can, in our view, best be explained if the assumed collection of Tustarī's aphorisms on selected Qur'ānic verses represents a written source at Sulamī's disposal. Only a written, not a purely oral source, can possibly account for the above established identity of quotation and sequence. This is also indicated by the general absence of the *isnād* for most of the material embodied in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, which is compiled by the same author who, in his work *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyah*, shows a meticulous concern for the *isnād*.

Sulamī seems to have incorporated into his *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* those aphorisms of this written collection of Tustarī's apophthegmata on a choice of Qur'ānic verses that represented for him proper "ways of reading" the Qur'ān "on the basis of the language of reality (*lisān al-ḥaqīqah*).<sup>1</sup> Thus, the material cited on Tustarī's authority in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* appears to be an excerpt from this written collection of Tustarī's aphorisms on a choice of Qur'ānic verses. Whether Sulamī had this written collection immediately at hand or had to rely on some intermediate source which had already copied this or a greater part of the relevant material, can no longer be determined.

As a result, the material cited on Tustarī's authority in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* (and by consequence in the *'Arā'is al-bayān*) has to be considered as an extract, directly or indirectly drawn by Sulamī from the original of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. Sulamī's extract provides the decisive external evidence for the substantial authenticity of the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. Since a small part of Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ānic verses included in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* cannot be traced in the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, Sulamī also must have employed other source materials of the Tustarī tradition which he does not identify except in a few cases where he cites an *isnād*.

In comparison to the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, Sulamī's extract shows the remarkable feature that the excerpts from the commentary between surah 20 through 79 are much more numerous than those from the text before and after this central part of the *Tafsīr*. For

instance, almost every line of Tustarī's commentary to surah 40 and 43 of the transmitted text is also copied in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, whereas very few items of Tustarī's commentary to surah 2 and 3 included in the transmitted text can be traced in Sulamī's excerpt. The reasons for this phenomenon are not only to be found in Sulamī's selection and method of excerpting, but are largely due to the actual structure of the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

#### 4. The Structure and Compilation of Tustarī's Tafsīr

Tustarī's *Tafsīr* comments on a selection of verses chosen from the 114 *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān. The bulk of the book is preceded by two short introductory chapters. The first of them includes the chain of those who transmitted the text, some considerations about the nature of the Qur'ān, and a series of observations concerning the study and understanding of the Qur'ān.<sup>25</sup> The second introductory chapter deals with different aspects of the Ṣūfī approach to the Qur'ān, its mystical understanding and interpretation.<sup>26</sup> The Qur'ānic commentary proper begins with about a dozen lines of commentary on the *Basmalah* and, from the first *sūrah* to the last, follows the actual verse order of the Qur'ān with very few exceptions, notably in the commentary on *sūrah* 2 of the Qur'ān.

The basic framework of the *Tafsīr* is determined by the selected Qur'ānic passages (entire Qur'ānic verses or parts thereof) which are usually introduced by the familiar formulas *qauluhu* and *qauluhu ta'ālā* ("Word of God") or *qāla Allāhu ta'ālā*, *qāla Allāh* and *qāla ta'ālā* ("God said"). A word or a short phrase within a particular Qur'ānic passage is taken up by the commentary that immediately follows upon it. Short stereotyped expressions like *ay* ("that is to say"), *ya'nī* ("that means") and *qāla* ("he, Tustarī, said") link a Qur'ānic passage to its commentary.

The whole of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* presents itself as a kind of continuous commentary on a choice of almost one thousand Qur'ānic passages. Despite its rigid framework as a running commentary, the *Tafsīr* fails to form a unified and neatly structured text. As a whole, it rather conveys the image of patchwork and disjointedness. For there are only a few pages in the *Tafsīr* where one Ṣūfī topic is pursued in a sustained fashion. The sections of commentary vary in length from two words to more than a page but generally average about two to three lines. The longer sections often group together clusters of seemingly disparate items and interpretative

<sup>25</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2–4.

<sup>26</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4–6.

aphorisms that are cited directly after the quotation of a Qur'ānic passage. In its entirety, the *Tafsīr* thus resembles a collection of jottings, noted down in loose sequence and linked to each other without any apparent principle of logical order.

The disjointed nature of the *Tafsīr* is further demonstrated by its multifarious nature of distinct layers of content. There are literal and metaphorical interpretations of Qur'ānic phrases: illustrations from the Prophet's normative and customary behaviour; examples from the legends of the prophets of old; traces of mystical views shared by earlier Ṣūfis and anecdotes concerning their practical conduct; fragments of Tustarī's mystical themes, his religious thought, and ascetic practice; exhortations and guidelines for disciples and answers to their questions; and finally, episodes about Tustarī's life, glosses and explanatory insertions into the text. Some of these factors must have induced Massignon to brush the *Tafsīr* aside as an "artificial compilation",<sup>27</sup> whereas Goldziher considered it as "the earliest product"<sup>28</sup> of Ṣūfi exegesis of the Qur'ān. Arberry appraised it as "the oldest surviving Ṣūfi commentary on the Qur'ān . . . , the forerunner of an extensive and important literature."<sup>29</sup>

This collection of disjointed jottings, held together by the quotations of Qur'ānic verses, can be understood as being composed of three main structural levels. The first and basic level is represented by Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ānic verses which is twofold, exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*). The exoteric passages of commentary encompass most of the materials marked as *aḥādīth*, and items of religious law as well as circumstantial explanations and background information to particular verses of the Qur'ān. The esoteric passages include the specifically mystical themes of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and represent the type of material excerpted by Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*.

The second structural level comprises a number of Tustarī's aphorisms and statements on mystical topics on the one hand, and illustrations and esoteric derivations from the legends of the prophets of old on the other hand. Decisive parallels to a variety of these statements and illustrations can be traced in the Ṣūfi primary sources as Tustarī's authentic teaching. Many of them, whether preserved or not by these parallel passages, seem to be excerpts or concentrated summaries culled from Tustarī's lost works which often merely cite the basic point of a statement or the punch-line of a story.

<sup>27</sup> L. Massignon, *SEI*, 489 (art. *Sahl At-Tustarī*).

<sup>28</sup> I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranlegung*, Leiden 1920, p. 215.

<sup>29</sup> A. J. Arberry, *Ṣūfism*, in: B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* vol. VIII/2 (Religion), Leiden 1961, p. 457f.

The third structural level consists of the insertions into the text by later hands, which may date back partly to sources contemporary with Tustarī, but are not recorded in Sulamī's extract, yet form an integral part of the archetype of the transmitted text. Certain exegetical proof texts, an explanation of a poem, and a variety of anecdotal accounts belong to these glosses and additions that are particularly plentiful in the first third of the transmitted text as well as on the last few pages.

To quote some examples of this third level: Tustarī's differentiation of two kinds of forgetfulness (*nisyān*), that of Covenant ('*ahd*) and that of remembrance of God (*dīkr*), is broken up and supplemented by numerous quotations from the Qur'ān.<sup>30</sup> His distinction between a ritual prayer that signifies asking God's forgiveness (*istigfār*) and receiving God's forgiveness (*mağfirah*) is supported by similar exegetical proof texts.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, the discussion of the notion of *ḥikmah* (wisdom) is expanded by quotations of proof texts from Qur'ān and Ḥadīth materials.<sup>32</sup> The gloss focused on the interpretation of "thou marvellest and they scoff" (37, 12), inserted in the commentary of the Qur'ānic passage 2, 142, is marked by the same features of exegetical proofs.<sup>33</sup> The lengthy explanation of the poem<sup>34</sup> presents itself as an obvious insertion into the text and also works with Qur'ānic proof texts.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the anecdotes recorded in the *Tafsīr* and added by one or the other of Tustarī followers exhibit the features of textual insertions: the pomegranate story;<sup>36</sup> the anecdote of Tustarī's nightingale;<sup>37</sup> the story of the miraculous *qiblah* change of a man immersed in meditation;<sup>38</sup> the anecdotal illustration of the *ḥadīth* concerning three tokens of a hypocrite;<sup>39</sup> the story of Amr b Al-Lait's (d. 289/902) death of starvation;<sup>40</sup> the stories about Tustarī and his disciples frequently also cited in Sarrāğ's *Luma'*;<sup>41</sup> the tale relating to Abū 'Ubaid Al-Ḥawwāṣ's theopathy;<sup>42</sup> the

<sup>30</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 11.

<sup>31</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 21 f.

<sup>33</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 32.

<sup>34</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 18.

<sup>35</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 19 f.

<sup>36</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10.

<sup>37</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 133.

<sup>38</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>39</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 32.

<sup>40</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 33 f.

<sup>41</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 38; 46 (= *Luma'*, 325); 48, 53 (= *Luma'*, 417, 330, 181 and *Ta'arruf*, 111/147); 69 (= *Luma'*, 176); 86 f. (= *Luma'*, 178); 99 (= *Luma'*, 292 f.).

<sup>42</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 61.

story of Marwazī's problem;<sup>43</sup> the report of Tustarī's discussion with Abū Ḥamzah;<sup>44</sup> the account of Tustarī's directive for a man who is about to set out for holy war;<sup>45</sup> Aḥmad b Sālim's visions of Tustarī and a mysterious mare;<sup>46</sup> the report of Tustarī's seventeen visits to the desert;<sup>47</sup> the meeting of Abū Ya'qūb As-Sūsī with Tustarī;<sup>48</sup> and the anecdotes about Ibn Šālīḥ and Al-Ġabalī.<sup>49</sup> Anecdotal accounts and exegetical proof texts are also found in the two introductory chapters of the *Tafsīr*.<sup>50</sup>

The first two levels which have been discerned in the structure of the transmitted text basically evidence Tustarī's *Tafsīr* as a Šūfī commentary on Qur'ānic verses, which also functions as a receptacle of various statements and illustrations culled from Tustarī's teaching. The integration of the material that pertains to the second structural level into the basic structural level of the text largely contributes to the disjointedness of the work. Nevertheless, both the first and second levels of the transmitted text, refer to Tustarī as the principal author.

Although Tustarī is the author, he is not the compiler of the *Tafsīr*. The actual compiler must have been one or a group of Tustarī's followers who not only integrated the second level into the first, but probably also had an active hand in the compilation of the first structural level. Two of Tustarī's direct disciples can still be traced in the text of the *Tafsīr* as being involved in its compilation: 'Umar b Wāṣil and Abū Bakr As-Siġzī. Possibly Muḥammad b Sālim has to be counted as the third. 'Umar b Wāṣil and Abū Bakr As-Siġzī are each quoted about a dozen times in the *Tafsīr*, while Muḥammad b Sālim is only mentioned three or possibly four times.

As a result, Abū Bakr As-Siġzī and 'Umar b Wāṣil emerge as the crucial authorities for the compilation of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. The striking feature of the table of references, which can be collected from the *Tafsīr* concerning these two men as well as Muḥammad b Sālim, is Abū Bakr As-Siġzī's disappearance from the text of the *Tafsīr*, on the same page on which 'Umar b Wāṣil begins to take over with his commentative remarks to the text.

'Umar b Wāṣil is quoted in the *Tafsīr* in the context of the following references:

<sup>43</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>44</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 55 f.

<sup>45</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 56.

<sup>46</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 65.

<sup>47</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 104 f.

<sup>48</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 79 (= *Luma'*, 193).

<sup>49</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 133.

<sup>50</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2–6.



- Tafsir*, 22 (Qur'an 2,269: point of reference *hikmah*)  
*Tafsir*, 22 (Qur'an 2,273: point of reference *faqir*)  
*Tafsir*, 26 (Qur'an 3,79: point of reference *rabbāniyyūn*)  
*Tafsir*, 39 (Qur'an 7,99: point of reference 'ilm)  
*Tafsir*, 43 (Qur'an 9,16: point of reference *waliḡah*)  
*Tafsir*, 64 (Qur'an 21,69: anecdote)  
*Tafsir*, 77f. (Qur'an 35,32: point of reference 'ilm)  
*Tafsir*, 81 (Qur'an 39,42: point of reference *rūḡ* and *nafs*)  
*Tafsir*, 104 (Qur'an 65,3: anecdote)  
*Tafsir*, 106 (Qur'an 68,1: point of reference *kitābah*)  
*Tafsir*, 107 (Qur'an 69,2: point of reference *al-ḡāqqah*)  
*Tafsir*, 116 (Qur'an 82,6: point of reference *tark al-'iṣmah*)  
*Tafsir*, 117 (Qur'an 83,15: point of reference *maḡḡūbūn*)

Abū Bakr As-Siḡzī is cited in the *Tafsir* under the following references:

- Tafsir*, 2 (Reference: introductory *isnād*)  
*Tafsir*, 5 (Reference: interview of ḡunaid)  
*Tafsir*, 6 (Reference: anecdote concerning ḡarrāz)  
*Tafsir*, 6 (*Basmalah*: point of reference *al-ism al-a'zam*)  
*Tafsir*, 7 (*Basmalah*: point of reference *Ar-Raḡīm*)  
*Tafsir*, 9 (Qur'an 2,3: point of reference *hikmah*)  
*Tafsir*, 10 (Qur'an 2,25: anecdote)  
*Tafsir*, 15 (Qur'an 2,197: point of reference *taqwā*)  
*Tafsir*, 16 (Qur'an 2,132: point of reference *taqwā*)  
*Tafsir*, 18 (Qur'an 2,260: point of reference *tu'manīnat al-qalb*)  
*Tafsir*, 21 (Qur'an 2,269: point of reference *hikmah*)  
*Tafsir*, 22 (Qur'an 2,273: point of reference *faqir*)

Muḡammad b Sālīm is mentioned in the *Tafsir* three, possibly four times:

- Tafsir*, 69 (Qur'an 25,58: point of reference *tawakkul*)  
*Tafsir*, 76 (Qur'an 33,35: point of reference *ḡikr*)  
*Tafsir*, 99 (Qur'an 57,15: anecdote)  
*Tafsir*, 133 (Qur'an 114,6: anecdote?)

The references of the *Tafsir* to Aḡmad b Sālīm,<sup>51</sup> Aḡmad b Mattā<sup>52</sup> and 'Abd Ar-Raḡmān Al-Marwazī<sup>53</sup> do not contribute decisive evidence with regard to the compilation of the *Tafsir*. But three references of the *Tafsir* to 'Umar b Wāṣil and one to Muḡammad b Sālīm can be recovered in Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir* in exactly the same context and order of quotation as in the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsir*. Thus 'Umar b Wāṣil's reference, *Tafsir*, 106 corresponds to *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir*, f. 271a/347b; *Tafsir*, 107 corresponds to *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsir*, f. 272b/350a; and *Tafsir*, 81 corresponds

<sup>51</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsir*, 38, 65 (and perhaps 133).

<sup>52</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsir*, 59, 75, 76.

<sup>53</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsir*, 46, 64.

to *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 218b/276a; whereas Muḥammad b Sālim's statement about *tawakkul*, *Tafsīr*, 69 corresponds to *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 165a/211a. Although no parallel of a reference to Abū Bakr As-Siğzī can be pointed out in the accessible manuscripts of the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, one reference in the 'Arā'is al-bayān I, 61 corresponds to Abū Bakr As-Siğzī's reference, *Tafsīr*, 21f.

An approximate picture of the actual compilation of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* can be established on the basis of the references and data which have been cited above, as well as on the strength of a series of observations. The bulk of the transmitted text of the *Tafsīr* has Tustarī as its principal author, as it is clearly evidenced by the parallel quotations in the Šūfī primary sources, especially Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*. Certain of Tustarī's disciples, some mentioned by name, others perhaps anonymously cited, incorporated a variety of Tustarī's sayings (the second structural level) into his Šūfī commentary on selected Qur'ānic verses (the basic structural level). They also added a reasonable amount of explanations to some passages of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*.

If the nature of Tustarī's interpretative remarks on selected verses of the Qur'ān is taken into account, then these jottings seem to have been assembled by Tustarī's circle of disciples, perhaps during a series of Šūfī sessions with their master. This would account for the feature of oral instruction and for the traces of direct contact with disciples which are still noticeable in the transmitted text. It would also explain the recurrence of thematical patterns of Qur'ānic interpretation and the concise cues of the commentary which frequently condense an implicitly understood context into a succinct phrase. Moreover, the nature of the text as a whole and of the basic structural level, examined in isolation from the whole, evidence a compilation devoid of the order and texture of composition which a commentary on selected verses of the Qur'ān would make manifest if purposefully and orderly composed by an individual Šūfī writer.

Since 'Umar b Wāṣil's and Abū Bakr As-Siğzī's notes on particular passages of the *Tafsīr* are usually integrated into the text at the end of the passages in question, they seem to have become part of the text after the integration of the first and second structural levels of the text. The process of integration of the structural levels and the addition of occasional explanations must have been completed during the life time of these two disciples of Tustarī.

The bulk of the transmitted text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* appears to have been compiled towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, because at this time, 'Umar b Wāṣil and Abū Bakr As-Siğzī can both be traced in the contemporary Šūfī milieu of Baḡdād. The year 275/888 mentioned by Abū

Bakr As-Siğzī at the beginning of the *Tafsir* might have to be considered as the precise time when the first jottings were recorded by Tustarī's disciples (*terminus a quo* for the compilation). If this is so, the compilation, namely the jotting down of the basic structural level and the process of integration of a variety of Tustarī's statements circulated among his disciples, must have extended roughly over two decades. For the *Tafsir* vividly describes the manner of 'Amr b Al-Laiṭ's demise at Baḡdād in the year 289/902 and records it in the way of a memorable, contemporary event.<sup>54</sup> According to a reference in the *Tafsir*, Abū Bakr As-Siğzī also solicited the global approval of Tustarī's Šūfī commentary on Qur'ānic verses on the part of Ġunaid, the dominant Šūfī master of Baḡdād during the latter part of the 3rd/9th century, who died in 298/910 (*terminus ad quem* for the compilation).

It can reasonably be suggested that the basic structural level of Tustarī's *Tafsir*, namely his interpretative remarks on selected Qur'ānic verses, were jotted down in the circle of his disciples during the period 275/888 to 283/896. The materials of the second structural level, namely the various sayings and statements circulated among Tustarī's disciples, as well as the explanatory notes by individual disciples, were united with this basic structural level until some time after the year 289/902, but prior to the death of Ġunaid (298/910), or Muḥammad b Sālim (297/909) for that matter. Fixing the year 289/902 as the approximate date of compilation of Tustarī's *Tafsir* is also corroborated by the absence of any reference in the *Tafsir* to a Šūfī who would have lived later than the period in question, and by the diminutive scope reserved for Aḥmad b Sālim in the *Tafsir* with at best three rather marginal anecdotes. For, in the first half of the 4th/10th century Aḥmad b Sālim (d. 356/967) had become the outstanding personality of the circle of Tustarī's disciples at Baṣrah.

However, the general absence of decisive references to disciples of Tustarī belonging to the group who stayed on in Baṣrah after his death, and the dominance of those disciples who seem to have moved to the 'Abbāsīd capital some time after Tustarī's death, suggest Baḡdād as the place and Šūfī milieu in which the *Tafsir* was compiled in its final stages, though it originated at Baṣrah in the circle of its principal author, Tustarī. The *Tafsir* thus appears to have constituted the personal compendium of the Tustarī tradition which the Baḡdādī group of Tustarī's disciples brought along with them to the 'Abbāsīd capital, where it received the approval of Ġunaid towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. This evaluation of the compilation of Tustarī's *Tafsir* might also explain why the Baḡdādī bibliographer Ibn

<sup>54</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsir*, 33f.

An-Nadīm did not record the *Tafsīr* as one of Tustarī's works in his *Kitāb al-fihrist*, completed in 377/988.

As a result, Tustarī's *Tafsīr* presents itself as the oldest extant work of the Tustarī tradition and as a source for Tustarī's mystical world of ideas which precedes the 4th/10th century developments of the mystico-theological school known by the name of As-Sālimiyah.

### 5. Tustarī's Method of Qur'ānic Interpretation

The biography of Tustarī includes a few references concerning his attitude and conduct during Qur'ān recitals,<sup>55</sup> but does not record any reference to his particular method of Qur'ānic interpretation. However, the basic structure of Tustarī's commentary on selected verses of the Qur'ān was found to be composed of two strands of interpretation, an exoteric and an esoteric one. There are also in the *Tafsīr* stray references to Tustarī's approach to the Qur'ān which reflect his conception and method of Qur'ānic interpretation. In examining the relevant references of the *Tafsīr* concerning the way in which Tustarī derives Ṣūfī meaning from the Qur'ān, we first outline Tustarī's general procedure of Qur'ānic interpretation and then decipher the specific affirmations and allusions to his Ṣūfī method of eliciting mystical insight from the Qur'ānic word.

Most of the recordings of Tustarī's Qur'ānic interpretation in the *Tafsīr* appear in the form of phrases, sentences, or at best brief passages, which were jotted down by Tustarī's disciples and represent the substance of his instructions in a condensed, abbreviated form. These stenographic recordings represent the result of an oral way of communication which involves the listening to Qur'ān recitals, the actual encounter of the Ṣūfī listener with the Qur'ānic word, and the response to the tenor of a Qur'ānic verse expressed in the Ṣūfī's utterance and its accompanying phenomena. The process of reception of Qur'ān recitals and reaction to their impact upon the Ṣūfī's mind primarily implies the auditive energies of the Ṣūfī and results in Ṣūfī speech, sometimes manifested in ecstatic utterance. This auditive and oral process is transposed onto the plane of written record in the *Tafsīr* where a succinct Ṣūfī statement is jotted down next to a Qur'ānic phrase. Thus, the eye which perceives a piece of text of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* has to grasp words captured by a Ṣūfī listening to Qur'ān recitals and words uttered in his mystically inspired speech.

<sup>55</sup> Sarrāḡ, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī, *Al-Luma' fi't-taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), Leiden 1914, cf. p. 292f.

This process of inspiration of the Qur'anic word, rather than meditation on the Qur'anic text, is also reflected in the very texture of Tustari's *Tafsir*. In the *Tafsir*, the theme of an item of commentary is usually introduced by a Qur'anic keynote, a short passage of the Qur'an. A word or a short phrase of a particular verse, which strikes the mind of the commentator, is quoted and taken up as the focal point of the interpretation. Such keynotes can be historical references, points of religious law, eschatological events, theological terms, philological puzzles, foreign or rare words, legendary figures and obscure points. A number of keynotes are taken up by the commentary as isolated units, independent from their Qur'anic context. Other keynotes imply the presence of the contextual environment in the mind of the commentator who, experienced in Qur'an recital, realizes the repercussions of a Qur'anic passage within its wider context. Almost all Qur'anic keynotes of Tustari's *Tafsir*, however, carry characteristics within themselves that awaken associations in the mind of a Muslim and Šūfī.

These associations establish the essential link between the Qur'anic keynote and the commentary. Provoked by a Qur'anic keynote they naturally come to mind in someone preoccupied with Šūfī themes and presuppose the free flow of inspiration of a man with a Šūfī bent of mind. As a result of the encounter between a Qur'anic keynote and the inspiration of the Šūfī commentator, the association is expressed in a way that can be as abstract as it is concrete, and as general as it is particular.

The associations are marked by two basic characteristics, fluid boundaries and an absorbing power. Their boundaries are fluid because the associations are composed of indistinct images that are difficult to define and depend on the actual flexibility of the Šūfī state of mind. Their absorbing power lies in the synthetic capacity to collect different images and symbols within the same association. The actual shape of Tustari's *Tafsir*, with its layers of contents, its clusters of aphorisms, and its samples of illustrations, represents a direct reflection of this open-ended and in-gathering way of Qur'anic interpretation by association.

The associations as a whole, grow out of the mystical matrix of Tustari's world of ideas, his experience about himself, God and the world. The basic framework of Tustari world of ideas carries the associations and represents the essence of his mystical thought. The analysis of Tustari's mystical thought in Chapters 4 to 6 shall unravel this essential framework of Tustari's world of ideas. Here we indicate only how Tustari's mystical imagery is the result of the encounter of Qur'anic keynotes with the mystical matrix of his world of ideas. In the process of this spiritual encounter a level of synthesis is achieved which makes it impossible to discern where "exegesis" ends and "eisegesis" begins. This method of

Qur'ānic interpretation does not employ Qur'ānic verses as proof texts for the justification of ideas but uses the Qur'ānic recitals as the impulse which generates the mystical inspiration. The basic method of Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ān thus resembles an encounter event. The encounter between the Qur'ānic keynotes and the mystical matrix of Tustarī's world of ideas leads to the event of association which finds its verbal expression and written recording in the commentary.

There are some passages in the transmitted text of the *Tafsīr* where Tustarī expresses his appraisal of the Qur'ān. He largely adopts Ibn 'Abbās's (d. 68/687) view of the Qur'ān and considers it as the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*) which, for the Muslim community, holds "tidings (*naba'*) about those before you, news (*ḥabar*) about those after you, and rules (*ḥukm*) for matters of religion among you."<sup>56</sup> The Qur'ān represents for Tustarī an invitation to worship (*ta'abbud*) and a guidebook to mystical knowledge (*ma'rifah*), and is depicted by him in its traditional qualities of "the Command of God, the All-wise (*amr Allāh al-ḥakīm*)", "the Straight Path (*aṣ-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*)", and "the Wholesome Remedy (*aṣ-ṣifā' an-nāfi'*)".<sup>57</sup> He also equates the Qur'ān, as the Heavenly Writ, "the Perfect Book (*kitāb muḥkam*) in a guarded Tablet (*fi lauḥ mahfūz*)"<sup>58</sup> with God's knowledge (*'ilm Allāh*) antecedent to creation which includes man's ultimate destiny and all his actions.<sup>59</sup>

Tustarī states that "man (*'abd*) has neither an escape from (God) his Master (*maulā*), nor from His Book (*kitāb*), nor from His Prophet (*nabī*)"<sup>60</sup> because God is the Protector (*nāṣir*) of man, the Qur'ān his guide (*imām*) and the Prophet his intercessor (*ṣāfi'*). For the Qur'ān, according to a statement by the Prophet, is "an excellent intercessor (*ṣāfi' muṣaffa'*) and a trustworthy go-between (*māḥil muṣaddaq*)".<sup>61</sup> Tustarī also adopts the simile of the Qur'ān as "the bond of God (*ḥabl Allāh*)" between God and man, and interprets it as man's only way (*ṭariq*) to God.<sup>62</sup>

In Tustarī's view the Qur'ān was sent down upon the Prophet's heart (*qalb*) who was given the task of proclaiming (*tablīg*) and explaining (*bayān*) it, in order to perfect man in his faith to God (*al-īmān li-llāh*).<sup>63</sup> Tustarī explains the Qur'ānic revelation to Muḥammad in images ascribed

<sup>56</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>58</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

to Ibn 'Abbās who views it as a process of angelic mediation. In the perspective of Ibn 'Abbās, "God sent down (*anzala*) the Qur'ān to the heaven of this world (*samā' ad-dunyā*) at one and the same time (*wāḥidatan*) in its entirety (*ḡumlatan*),"<sup>64</sup> but revealed it piecemeal to His Prophet Muḥammad over a period of roughly twenty years. The Heavenly Writ of the Qur'ān, perserved in a tablet of emerald (*lauḥ min zumurrud*), is guarded by "the angels, the noble scribes (*as-safarāh al-kirām al-kātibūn*)." God, seated on His throne (*'arṣ*), is veiled from their sight by Isrāfīl, the angel of the throne. But, when He wills something to take effect (*idā arāda Allāh amran*), He fixes His sight on the Tablet and beckons the angels, sending them as His envoys (*rusul*) to Ġibrīl, the angel of revelation, who communicates each divine message to the Prophet Muḥammad, five times five verses at a time.<sup>65</sup>

Tustarī combines this angelic process of revelation with the traditional qualifications of the Qur'ānic verses; for he says: "God sent down (*anzala*) the Qur'ān five times five (verses) at a time, five self-explanatory (*muḥkam*), five metaphorical (*mutaṣābih*), five 'lawful' (*ḥalāl*), five 'unlawful' (*ḥarām*) and five parabolic (*amtāl*) verses. The believer, possessed of mystical knowledge of God (*al-mu'min al-'arif bi-llāh*), acts according to its self-explanatory (verses), believes in its metaphorical (verses), declares allowed its 'lawful' and forbidden its 'unlawful' (verses), and comprehends its parables."<sup>66</sup> Tustarī also combines similar qualifications with his view of the Arabic Qur'ān as a light of God's guidance. For according to Tustarī, God made the Qur'ān a light (*nūr*) of His guidance of man by setting forth its self-explanatory (*muḥkam*) and metaphorical (*mutaṣābih*) verses, the passages which stipulate what is lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*), and its precepts of command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*), and by spelling it out in the letters of the Arabic language which manifest its exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning.<sup>67</sup>

Finally, Tustarī also distinguishes between abrogating (*nāsikh*), abrogated (*mansūkh*), self-explanatory (*muḥkam*) and metaphorical (*mutaṣābih*) levels of the Qur'ān.<sup>68</sup>

This distinction of four levels of Qur'ānic meaning by Tustarī, namely either 1. *muḥkam*, 2. *mutaṣābih*, 3. *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*, 4. *amtāl* or 1. *muḥkam*, 2. *mutaṣābih*, 3. *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*, 4. *amr wa-nahy*, or 1. *nāsikh*,

<sup>64</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 5.

<sup>66</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 6.

<sup>67</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 24.

2. *mansūḥ*, 3. *muḥkam*, 4. *mutaṣābih*, is apparently influenced by the distinction of four Qur'ānic ways of reading (*aḥruf*, "lectiones") proposed by Ibn 'Abbās and quoted in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* as part of his commentary on the Qur'ānic references concerning the metaphorical part (*mutaṣābihāt*) of the Qur'ān, which reads: "And none knows its interpretation (*ta'wīl*) save only God." (3, 7) For Tustarī has Ibn 'Abbās say: "God sent down (*anzala*) the Qur'ān according to four 'lectiones' (*aḥruf*): 1. what is lawful (*ḥalāl*) and what is unlawful (*ḥarām*), of which nobody is excused by his ignorance (*ḡabālah*); 2. an explanation (*tafsīr*) set forth by the Arabs; 3. an explanation (*tafsīr*) set forth by those possessed of knowledge (*'ulamā'*); and 4. a metaphorical part (*mutaṣābih*) which only God knows, and whoever claims to have knowledge of it save God is a liar (*kādib*)."<sup>69</sup> These four Qur'ānic levels distinguished by Ibn 'Abbās, which may be marked as a moral, literal, spiritual and symbolic level of Qur'ānic meaning, seem to be related to Tustarī's mystical conception of a fourfold Qur'ānic sense.

Some stray references in the *Tafsīr*, where Tustarī reflects on his Ṣūfī approach to the Qur'ān and his mystical method of Qur'ānic interpretation, outline his idea of four "simultaneous Qur'ānic senses." Throughout his commentary on the Qur'ān, Tustarī differentiates between a literal, exoteric (*zāhir*) and a hidden, esoteric (*bāṭin*) meaning of the Qur'ān. Thus, he states on the first page of his *Tafsīr* with reference to the Qur'ān: "Its literal meaning (*zāhir*) is beautiful (*anīq*) and its hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) is profound (*'amīq*), and no mind is capable of comprehending (*fahm*) it."<sup>70</sup> Tustarī further explains the twofold meaning which he discovers in the Qur'ān and says: "Each verse (*āyah*) of the Qur'ān has four senses (*ma'ānin*), a literal (*zāhir*) and a hidden sense (*bāṭin*), a limit (*ḥadd*) and a point of transcendency (*maṭla'*). The literal sense is the recitation (*tilāwah*), the hidden sense the understanding (*fahm*, of the verse). The limit (defines what is declared) lawful (*ḥalāl*) and unlawful (*ḥarām*) by (the verse) and the point of transcendency is the command of the heart (*iṣrāf al-qalb*) over the meaning intended (*murād*) by it as understood from (the vantage point) of God (*fiqḥan min Allāh*). The knowledge of the literal sense (*'ilm az-zāhir*) is common knowledge (*'amm*), the understanding (*fahm*) of its hidden sense and the meaning intended (*murād*) by it is select knowledge (*ḥāṣṣ*)."<sup>71</sup>

Tustarī's definition of a fourfold Qur'ānic sense seems to recall the distinction of scriptural senses made by the patristic tradition of Christianity (*sensus literalis* and *sensus spiritualis*, including the allegorical,

<sup>69</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.



tropological-moral and anagogical senses).<sup>72</sup> Tustarī, however, was not the first to adopt this fourfold sense of Qur'ānic scripture, since Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) developed a somewhat different interpretation of it,<sup>73</sup> and since a saying, almost identical with Tustarī's statement, is attributed to 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib (40/661) by the Sunnī Sulamī.<sup>74</sup> Sulamī has 'Alī enumerate four scriptural senses (*ma'ānin*), *ẓāhir*, *bāṭin*, *ḥadd* and *maṭla'*, which he equates, in order, with the recitation (*tilāwah*) of the verse, its understanding (*fahm*), its precepts concerning what is lawful and unlawful (*aḥkām al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām*), and the meaning intended by God (*murād Allāh*), namely "what God wants from man by the verse (*murād Allāh min al-'abd bihā*)."<sup>75</sup> However, it is questionable whether 'Alī's authorship of this statement is authentic. We suggest that Sulamī does in fact quote Tustarī, not 'Alī, because of the nearly verbatim identity of the two statements, the absence of a transmitter chain (*isnād*) preceding 'Alī's statement, and the quotation of 'Alī in the inverse historical order of the "testimonia" cited in Sulamī's introduction, following, not preceding, a statement by Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765).

The Qur'ān itself (cf. 6, 120; 6, 151; 7, 33; 31, 20; 57, 3; 57, 13) does not differentiate between Qur'ānic senses, but only refers to two aspects of things, the outward (*ẓāhir*) and the inward (*bāṭin*). The tradition of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) transmitted by Abu'l-Aḥwās on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b Mas'ūd (d. 32/652) introduces the conceptual pair of *ḥadd* and *maṭla'* as two aspects of Qur'ānic exegesis, but does not yet distinguish a fourfold Qur'ānic sense. For it reads: "The Qur'ān was sent down (*unzila*) according to seven 'lectiones' (*aḥruf*). Each Qur'ānic verse (*āyah*) has an exterior (*ẓahr*) and an interior (*baṭn*). Each 'lectio' (*ḥarf*) has a limit (*ḥadd*) and a point of transcendency (*maṭla'*)."<sup>76</sup> It is obvious that this statement differentiates between two levels of Qur'ānic meaning, expressed by two images: on the one hand the *ẓahr*, literally the "back, outside, surface", and the *baṭn*, literally the "belly, inside, depth" of a verse, and on the other hand the *ḥadd*, the limit of the 'lectio', its boundary or horizon (perhaps its "descendant"), and the *maṭla'*, the point of transcendency of the 'lectio', that is, its point of ascent or time of rising (perhaps the "ascendant") in the likeness of a celestial body.

<sup>72</sup> L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, Paris 1922, p. 704f.; J. Van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥarīṭ al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961, p. 210f.

<sup>73</sup> Van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 209–213.

<sup>74</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 2a/2a.

<sup>75</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 2a/2a.

<sup>76</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 2a/—.

Tustarī statement of a fourfold Qur'ānic sense, as partly based on this *Ḥadīth*, partly on Ibn 'Abbās's four Qur'ānic levels, and partly on the patristic tradition, equates *ẓāhir*, *bātin*, *ḥadd* and *maṭla'* with the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical meaning of each Qur'ānic verse. But Tustarī's fourfold Qur'ānic sense is not in keeping with his interpretation of the Qur'ān employed throughout the *Tafsīr*, where he never applies a fourfold sense of the Qur'ān yet consistently differentiates between a twofold meaning, a literal and a hidden sense, with the emphasis on the hidden, mystical meaning of the Qur'ān.

Tustarī's method of Qur'ānic interpretation apparently follows the precedent set by Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), who is also on record with a statement concerning a four point pattern of Qur'ānic exegesis;<sup>77</sup> but actually, in his commentary on the Qur'ān, applies two ways of interpretation, a literal (*ẓāhir*) and a spiritual (*bātin*) way, and stresses the hidden meaning (*bātin*) of Qur'ānic verses.<sup>78</sup> Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq's pattern can also be understood as a dual two-point pattern: on the one hand composed of '*ibārah*, the literal expression of a verse, and '*isārah*, its allegorical allusion, and on the other hand including *laṭā'if*, the mystical subtleties, and *ḥaqā'iq*, the spiritual realities. While the pair of '*ibārah* and '*isārah* is related to the distinction between common man ('*awāmm*) and mystic man (*ḥawāṣṣ*), the *laṭā'if* and *ḥaqā'iq* are perceived in analogy with the saints (*auliyā'*) and the prophets (*anbiyā'*).<sup>79</sup>

Tustarī himself seems to be aware that this fourfold Qur'ānic sense is actually reduced to two levels of meaning which combine the literal and moral meaning as opposed to the combined allegorical and anagogical meaning. For he concludes his statement with the equation of "understanding (*fahm*)" and "intended meaning (*murād*)" (thus equating the *bātin* and *maṭla'* levels) and makes them both the domain of mystic man (*ḥāṣṣ*), whereas he grants common man ('*āmm*) access to the literal meaning.<sup>80</sup> He also states in another passage: "The *bātin* of the Qur'ān is its understanding (*fahm*), and its understanding is the intended meaning (*murād*)."<sup>81</sup>

Although Tustarī does not cite Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq in his *Tafsīr*, neither by name nor anonymously, he seems to follow the principles of Qur'ānic

<sup>77</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f 2a/2a; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beyrouth 1970, p. 167.

<sup>78</sup> P. Nwyia, *Le Tafsīr mystique attribué à Ġa'far Ṣādiq*, in: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XLIII (1962), pp. 181–230.

<sup>79</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, f. 2a/2a.

<sup>80</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>81</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 5.

interpretation employed by Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq. As far as it can be gathered from the fragments cited in the *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr* on Ġa'far's authority and from Nwyia's description of Nu'mānī's (d. 360/971) version of Ġa'far's *Tafsīr*,<sup>82</sup> the Qur'ānic commentaries of both Ġa'far and Tustarī are characterized as mystical, Ṣūfī interpretation of the Qur'ān, independent of each other in their content, but related in their method. In the absence of an edition of Ġa'far's *Tafsīr*, we can only advance the conjecture that Ġa'far's and Tustarī's works, related in method and in their emphasis on the *bāṭin* level of interpretation, are clearly marked by divergent *zāhir* levels of interpretation, Tustarī following Sunnī lines, Ġa'far stressing Šī'ī ideas. This conjecture, as well as Massignon's reference to Du'n-Nūn (Tustarī's spiritual forebear) as the first editor of Ġa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq's *Tafsīr*,<sup>83</sup> indicate an obscure area of research with regard to the early historical links of Ṣūfī *Tafsīr*, which in the absence of printed texts can only be clarified through the examination of relevant manuscripts – a task that goes far beyond the scope of the present study.

<sup>82</sup> Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique*, 159.

<sup>83</sup> L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1968, p. 202.

## Part II

The second part of our study examines the thought-content of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and, by way of exegetical analysis, determines the basic framework of Tustarī's mystical ideas. It presupposes the text of the *Tafsīr* as a substantially authentic compendium of the Tustarī tradition and supports the crucial topics of Tustarī's *Tafsīr* with proof texts and quotations from the principal Ṣūfī primary sources.

Tustarī's range of mystical ideas, which, in its structure, emerges from the scattered references of a disjointed commentary on the Qur'ān, is deeply rooted in his own mystical experience, draws its inspiration from events in pre-existence and post-existence, and is realized in the spiritual awareness of God's presence within man. Though not always consistent in its terminology, Tustarī's mystical doctrine achieves the coherence of a world view of mystic man, which integrates his primordial past and his ultimate destiny in the actual experience of his soul.

The study of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, which is founded on textual criticism and documented by exegetical analysis, presents a synthesis of Tustarī's mystical ideas as anchored in their Qur'ānic foundation and in the cultural matrix of his time.



## Chapter IV

### God in His Events: Day of Covenant and Day of Resurrection

Tustarī views God from the vantage point of a mystic's enlightened experience, not from the standpoint of a professional theologian. Thus his approach to the reality of God is neither directed by disquisitions about God's existence, His essence and attributes, nor is it marked by apologetic arguments drawn from Qur'ān, Ḥadīth materials, traditional belief and rational deduction.

Tustarī primarily envisions God as the absolute and ultimate Reality whom man encounters at any moment of his life, and in whom he experiences the source and end of his existence. On the one hand God, in His omniscience and omnipotence, remains utterly inaccessible and distant, a transcendent mystery (*ḡaib*) that cannot be penetrated. In his omnipresence and providence, on the other hand, He becomes intimately close and accessible to man, an immanent secret (*sirr*) that penetrates his inmost being.

God, the transcendent mystery and immanent secret of man's existence, is emphasized by Tustarī as totally One. This Oneness, metaphorically expressed by the symbol of light (*nūr*), is both all-exclusive and all-inclusive. It radically excludes all partnership in divine reality, all association with created, this-worldly beings, and any form of man's conscious assertion of his own self or subconscious attachment to his own being. But it includes the pre-existence of man as the articulation of divine light in the form of light particles, comprises the phenomenal existence of man in the divine decree (*ḥukm*), and encompasses the post-existence of man in the permanence of man's communion with the Transcendent.

The phenomenal (spatial and temporal) existence of man is drawn out between his creation and death as a series of instants and events in which man stands under the impact of God's decree as unequivocally ordained by His Command (*amr*) and Interdiction (*nahy*). The life of man in this world (*dunyā*), spent in conformity to the divine Command and Interdiction, finds its God-oriented motivation in the reactualization of the Day of Covenant (*yaum al-mītāq*) and is driven in its tendency towards the anticipatory integration of the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*).

Both "Days" fall outside the phenomenal existence of man and lie within the realm of man's pre-existence and post-existence in the very presence of God.

On the Day of Covenant the human race, in the state of light particles, professed God's oneness, and by implication, man negated the affirmation of his own self (*nafs*). Man's profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) on the Day of primordial compact in pre-existence is expressed by his confession of God's Lordship (*rubūbiyyah*), which by implication affirms man's conscious acceptance of himself as servant ('*abd*) of His Lord (*rabb*). At the height of his mystical experience in the world of phenomenal existence, man reactualizes his primordial profession of God as Lord (*sirr ar-rubūbiyyah*). As he struggles to achieve this mystical awareness (*ma'rifah*) within his heart (*qalb*), man is always opposed by the forces of his own self (*nafs*), this world (*dunyā*) and Satan (*šaiṭān*).

On the Day of Resurrection the struggle of man's heart (*qalb*) against the self (*nafs*) is finally overcome. Man is reintegrated into the lasting presence of the One God, the Transcendent Reality (*ḥaqq*). He is granted the encounter of God (*liqā' al-ḥaqq*), the existence in His permanence (*al-baqā' ma'a'l-ḥaqq*), and the visual perception of God (*an-nazar ila'l-ḥaqq*). Man, freed in his heart from the bondage of his own self, regains his primordial perfection and totally experiences God as He truly and really is. He no longer perceives God as a servant ('*abd*) who looks up to his Lord (*rabb*) but as an intimate (*walī*) who experiences his being absorbed by the Transcendent (*ḥaqq*). At the peak of his mystical experience in the world of phenomenal existence man anticipates his ultimate bliss in the certainty (*yaqīn*) of unveiling (*mukāṣafah*), visual beholding (*mu'āyanah*) and contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of the realities of faith (*īmān*). In his struggle for this certainty man achieves a unity of his ascetic endeavour and his mystical awareness which directs him totally to God.

Man's phenomenal existence in the world of creation thus turns out to be the theatre of an inner struggle between the forces of his heart (*qalb*) and his self (*nafs*). In his efforts to realize God (*Allāh*) as his exclusive Lord and ultimate destiny, man faces a situation of trial and test (*ibtilā'*) into which he is called by the Command and Interdiction of the divine decree (*ḥukm*) as well as by the antagonistic forces of his soul. Man, in practice, masters his condition of trial by holding on to the Book of God (*kitāb*) and by following the example of the Prophet (*iqtidā'*), a practice achieved by the purity of intention (*iḥlās*) and the sincerity of continuous repentance (*taubah*). The ascetic practices of renunciation aimed at the submission of the self to man's heart, assist man in freeing himself (*tabarrī*)

from the demands of his self and in totally entrusting himself (*tawakkul*) to God.

In his mystical experience Tustarī perceives God in the events antecedent and subsequent to man's existence in the world of creation, and in the instantaneous incidents of the divine decree which mark man's phenomenal existence. Tustarī thus views God as a dynamic reality, not as a static entity; as an actual Transcendent to encounter, not as a fixed Absolute to analyze. Tustarī's grasp of the inaccessible mystery and immanent secret of God in mystical experience is articulated through his mystical interpretation of Qur'ānic passages. Certain privileged verses delineate the Qur'ānic foundation for his conception of God (*Allāh*) as the Lord (*rabb*) of the Day of Covenant and the ultimate Reality (*ḥaqq*) on the Day of Resurrection in the world to come.

### 1. Primordial Events and the Day of Covenant

Tustarī's conception of God as portrayed by his mystical imagery of primordial events antecedent to the creation of man in the world of phenomenal existence is marked by the implicit affirmation of the inaccessibility of the divine mystery. The Transcendent One cannot be pierced, but He is mystically perceived and described in His manifestations which are grasped as events.

God's manifestation in events does not reveal the divine mystery of His absolute Self and thus is not self-manifestation, but it discloses the attributes and attitudes of the divine Reality and thus is a manifestation of and about Himself. The primordial events depicted by Tustarī's mystical imagery as three themes centered around the Day of Covenant, represent God's manifestation of Himself in the world of pre-existence.

The first theme is developed by the symbolism of light and the event of its manifestation. God, both in His inaccessibility and in His manifestation, is conceived of as light which issues forth in its radiance and articulates itself as the primordial light of Muḥammad. This emanation of divine light constitutes Muḥammad in his light-nature (a translucent shaft of light as primal man who at the same time is the cosmic and corporate prototype of mankind as well as the mystic and prophetic archetype of religious man. Muḥammad's primordial adoration of God throughout an immemorial aeon of time represents the original idea and the perpetual image of man, the believing and obedient creature fashioned in divine light in the world of pre-existence.



The second theme, subsequent to the event of the manifestation of Muḥammad's light-nature, depicts the human race in the world of pre-existence as a conglomeration of light particles which spiritually emanate from their prophetic ancestors in order to testify to God's Oneness and Lordship in the Covenant event. Summoned by God to testify through their prophetic ancestors, in whom they are embryonically enshrined as seeds, they intuitively perceive God's testimony about Himself and bear witness to Him as the One God and Only Lord. The offer of the divine testimony by God and its acceptance by the human race constitute God's Covenant with mankind, which at the same time endows the individual creatures with the spiritual capacities of the human soul, the mind and heart.

The third theme and event is the spiritual constitution of the heart of Muḥammad as the source of divine revelation and mystical union for the believing and obedient creature. The total, living reality of Muḥammad, formed in divine light, is conceived as condensed in its inmost core which is his heart. During the aeon of primordial adoration of God in pre-existence, Muḥammad's heart absorbed the divine realities and thus carries them within itself like a treasure mine from which mystic man draws his knowledge and love of God. Thus from Muḥammad's heart, which enshrines the divine reality of light, breaks forth the flood of light which illuminates the hearts of men. God in his inaccessibility has become accessible in the heart of Muḥammad in which He is made manifest through his divine attributes, symbolized by the image of light.

These events, outlined by the themes of Tustarī's mystical imagery of the world of pre-existence, are recorded in the *Tafsīr* and in a variety of parallel passages of major Ṣūfī primary sources, among them Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, Makki's *Ilm al-qulūb*, Dailamī's *ʿAtf al-alif*, ʿAin Al-Quḍāt Al-Hamadānī's *Tamhīdāt*, Abu Ḥafṣ ʿUmar As-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, and Baqlī's *ʿArā'is al-bayān*. It is impossible to ascertain whether and to what extent these passages once formed part of the *Kitāb al-mītāq* ascribed to Tustarī (cf. chapter I), although they fit into the topical frame of reference of the primordial covenant (*mītāq*). In the *Tafsīr*, these events are discussed in the context of Tustarī's interpretation of privileged Qur'ānic keynotes and are to a large extent organically linked to the verses 7, 157; 7, 172; 11, 40; 24, 35; 26, 193; 33, 7; 53, 13–18; 73, 1; 86, 1–3; 89, 1; 93, 1–11; 94, 1–8. ʿUmar b Wāṣil, a direct disciple of Tustarī (cf. Chapter II), is cited in Dailamī's *ʿAtf al-alif* as attesting that Tustarī stands unique in his conception of Muḥammad's light-nature and primordial adoration: "ʿUmar b Wāṣil said, this is something by which Sahl stands without parallel. I do not know whether anyone else discoursed

about (this matter). This is the correct (quotation of Tustarī's) doctrine to which there is no addition."<sup>1</sup>

#### a) The Manifestation of Divine Light and Muḥammad's Primordial Adoration

Although Tustarī's theory of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) is not cited in the commentary of the *Tafsīr* on the famous light verse of the Qur'ān (24, 35), it is intrinsically connected with its terminology and imagery. The Qur'ānic verse reads:

"God is the Light (*nūr*) of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of His Light (*maṭalu nūrihi*) is as a niche (*miškāt*) wherein is a lamp (*miṣbāḥ*), the lamp in a glass (*zuḡāḡah*), the glass as it were a glittering star (*kawkab durrī*); kindled from a Blessed Tree (*ṣaḡarah mubārakah*), an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil (*zait*) wellnigh would shine, even if no fire touched it; Light upon Light; God guides to His Light whom He will. And God strikes similitudes for men, and God has knowledge of everything." (24, 35)

Tustarī focuses his interpretation on the Qur'ānic phrase, "the likeness of His Light" and develops the theory of Muḥammad's light-nature (*nūr Muḥammad*). God, in His absolute oneness and transcendent reality, is the inaccessible mystery of divine light which yet articulates itself in the pre-existential manifestation of "the likeness of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*)."<sup>2</sup> The origin of *nūr Muḥammad* in pre-existence is depicted as a luminous mass of primordial adoration in the presence of God which takes the shape of a transparent column (*'amūd*) of divine light and constitutes Muḥammad as the primal articulation of God. Explaining the terminology of the light verse, Tustarī says:

"When God willed to create Muḥammad, He made appear a light from His light (*aḡhara min nūrihi nūran*). When it reached the veil of the Majesty (*ḥiḡāb al-'aḡamah*) it bowed in prostration before God. God created from its prostration (*saḡdah*) a mighty column (*'amūd*) like crystal glass (*zuḡāḡ*) of light that is outwardly (*ẓāhir*) and inwardly (*bāṭin*) translucent."<sup>3</sup>

The parallel passages, quoted by Makkī and Dailamī, supplement the preceding passage and underscore Tustarī's emphasis on the cosmic role of Muḥammad:

"When God willed to create Muḥammad, He made appear a light from His light and disseminated it. It spread in the entire kingdom (of pre-existence, *mamlakah*). When it reached

<sup>1</sup> Dailamī, Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'ala'l-lām al-ma'ṭūf* (ed. J. C. Vadet), Cairo 1962, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, Cairo 1329/1911, p. 68; Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḡmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ḥaḡā'iq at-tafsīr*, ms. *Fāṭih* 262, f. 158b; ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433, f. 202a.

<sup>3</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40f.

the Majesty (*‘aẓamah*), it bowed in prostration. God created from its prostration a mighty column of dense light (*nūr kaṭīf*) like crystal glass (*zuğāğah*) that is as thick as the seven heavens and outwardly and inwardly translucent.”<sup>4</sup>

‘Ain Al-Quḍāt Al-Hamadānī’s account in the *Tamhīdāt* stresses Tustarī’s *nūr Muḥammad* as a kind of prime matter, shaped by God from His own light, from which issue all existent beings. Hamadānī introduces Al-Ḥiḍr, the mysterious companion of the mystics, as revealing to Tustarī:

“God created the light of Muḥammad from His light. He formed it and brought it forth at His own hand (*ṣawwarahu wa-ṣaddarahu ‘alā yadihi*). This light remained before God for a hundred thousand years, during (which time) He beheld it (*yulāḥizuhu*) seventy thousand glimpses and glances every day and night. At each glance He formed it (*yukabbibuhu*) into a new light, and created from them all the existent beings (*mauğūdāt*).”<sup>5</sup>

Muḥammad was created in his light nature as the primal cosmic origin of mankind when the light that issued from God and illuminated the heavenly universe took the shape of a mass of primordial adoration in the presence of God. The crystal-like column of divine light represents Muḥammad as the First Creation in pre-existence and as the corporate, luminous totality of the universe that engulfs the heavenly spheres and enshrines the archetypes of the created beings.

Tustarī’s peculiar interpretation of the Qur’ānic verses 53, 13–18 understands Muḥammad’s vision of God as a reference to his primordial adoration when, in pre-existence, Muḥammad was absorbed in permanent contemplation of God during an immemorial aeon of time. The Qur’ānic passage (53, 13–18) records the well known visionary experience of Muḥammad:

“Indeed, he (Muḥammad) saw Him another time at the Lote Tree of the Boundary nigh which is the Garden of the Refuge, when there covered the Lote Tree that which covered; his eye swerved not, nor swept astray. Indeed, he saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord” (53, 13–18).

In his running commentary on the passage Tustarī describes Muḥammad’s primordial contemplation of God as an act in which he absorbs the divine attributes within the very nature of his heart:

“Indeed, he saw Him another time (53, 13), namely in the beginning (*ibtidā’*) when God created him (Muḥammad) as a light in the column of light (*‘amūd an-nūr*) before the beginning of creation by a million years. He stood before him in worship (*‘ubūdiyyah*) with the dispositions faith

<sup>4</sup> Dailamī, *‘Atf al-alif*, 33; Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *‘Ilm al-qulūb*, Cairo 1384/1964, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Hamadānī, *‘Ain al-Quḍāt* Abu’l-Ma’ālī ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, *Tamhīdāt* (ed. A. Osseiran), Tehrān 1962, p. 267; L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l’histoire de la mystique en pays d’Islam*, Paris 1929, p. 39.

(*ṭabā'ī al-īmān*) and was unveiled the mystery (*mukāṣṣafat al-ḡaib*) by Mystery Itself (*al-ḡaib*) 'at the Lote Tree of the Boundary' (53, 14), that is the tree (*ṣaḡarah*) at which the knowledge (*'ilm*) of everyone comes to an end."<sup>6</sup>

"When there covered the Lote Tree that which covered' (53, 16), that is to say the Lote Tree (*sidrah*) consists of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) during his worship (*'ibādah*) in the likeness of golden moths (*farāṣ min ḍahab*) which the Transcendent (*al-ḥaqq*) sets in motion towards him from the marvels of His secrets (*badā'ī asrārīhi*). (God effects) all this in order to make him increase in firmness (*ṭabāt*) because of that which would come to him from the sources of advent (*mawārid*).

'His eye swerved not, nor swept astray' (53, 17); he did not incline to the evidences of his self (*ṣawāhid nafsīhi*) nor to their contemplation (*muṣāhadah*), but was totally (absorbed) in contemplation of His Lord (*rabb*), witnessing (*ṣāhidan*) the attributes (*ṣifāt*) that overpowered him, causing the firmness in that place (*maḥall*)."<sup>7</sup>

"Indeed, he saw some of the greatest signs of his Lord' (53, 18), namely those attributes which become manifest through His signs (*āyāt*). Though he saw them, he did not let slip (his mind) from his witnessed Object (*maṣhūd*) and did not withdraw from the vicinity (*muḡāwarah*) of his worshiped Object (*ma'būd*). He continuously increased in love (*maḥabbah*), desire (*ṣauq*) and strength (*quwwah*). God have him the strength of bearing the theophany (*taḡallī*) and the supreme lights (*al-anwār al-'aẓīmah*). This was a preferment (*tafḍīl*) in his favour over the other prophets. Do you not see that *Mūsā* was stunned at the theophany, yet twice as much did the Prophet pierce it in his contemplation, by the face to face encounter (*kifāhan*) with the sight (*baṣar*) of his heart (*qalb*). He was confirmed because of the strength of his state (*ḥāl*), the loftiness of his stage (*maqām*) and his rank (*daraḡah*)."<sup>8</sup>

The jottings which make up the commentary to this Qur'ānic passage, despite their disjointedness, depict the pre-existential Muḥammad as totally absorbed in the contemplative witnessing of the divine theophany during an unfathomable aeon of time. Parallel passages to this basic account, recorded in the *Tafsīr* itself as also in other Ṣūfī primary sources, emphasize particular features of Muḥammad's primordial adoration.

<sup>6</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 95; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 251b/318b; Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūz-bihān b Abī Naṣr, '*Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān*', 2 vols., Cawnpore 1301/1884, II, 289; Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, '*Awārif al-ma'ārif*', Cairo 1358/1939, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 95f.; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 251b/319a; Baqlī, '*Arā'is al-bayān*', II, 289.

One passage specifies the dispositions of faith with which the pre-existential Muḥammad stood in continuous contemplation before His Lord. Muḥammad, "without body (*ḡism*) and form (*rasm*), stood in service (*ḥidmah*) before the Lord of all-Being (*rabb al-'ālamīn*) for a million years with the dispositions of faith (*ṭabā'i' al-īmān*), which are the visual beholding of faith (*mu'āyanat al-īmān*), the unveiling of certainty (*mukāṣafat al-yaqīn*) and the direct witnessing of the Lord (*ṣahādat ar-rabb*). For God conferred on him (Muḥammad) the contemplation (*muṣāhadah*) for a million years before the beginning of (Adam's) creation."<sup>9</sup>

Another passage describes the service of Muḥammad before God in pre-existence as a prefiguration of the service rendered to God by a religious man: "God did not lay a burden on any of the prophets (*anbiyā'*) (like the taks of) service (*ḥidmah*) with which He burdened our Prophet Muḥammad. There is no stage of service through which God is served by an offspring of Adam (*walad Ādam*) prior to the mission of our Prophet, except that our Prophet had already rendered God this service."<sup>10</sup>

A third passage has Muḥammad's name written on the leaves of the trees in paradise and perceives his primordial worship as a prefiguration of the states of all prophets by virtue of which Muḥammad is ranked as the seal of the prophets at the beginning and end of all things, and at the peak of the spiritual hierarchy above the saints and prophets. Tustarī says: "The ultimate ranks (*āḥir ad-daraḡāt*) of the righteous (*ṣiddiqīn*) are the initial states (*awwal al-aḥwāl*) for the prophets (*anbiyā'*), although our Prophet worshipped (*abada*) God Most High with all states of the prophets. There is no leaf in paradise (*ḡannah*) among the leaves of the trees on which were not written (the name of) Muḥammad. Through him is the origin of the things (*ibtidā' al-aṣyā'*) and through him is their final sealing (*ḥatmuhā*), for he is called the seal of the prophets (*ḥātim an-nabiyyīn*)."<sup>11</sup>

A fourth passage depicts Muḥammad's select position of pre-existence as a total absorption in the presence of God which raises him beyond the need of food and drink. Tustarī "being asked about the Prophet's word 'I am not like one of you; verily, my Lord gave me to eat and to drink', replied: There was neither food nor drink with him (Muḥammad), but he recalled his select position (*ḥuṣūṣiyyah*) in the presence of God (*'inda Allāh*). Then he (in his terrestrial existence) became like one who eats and

<sup>9</sup> Makkī, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 93 f.; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 33; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41.

<sup>10</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41.

<sup>11</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 48.

drinks, but if there was drink or food before him then he preferred his people and the people of the bench (*ahl aṣ-ṣuffah*) to his own self.”<sup>12</sup>

#### b) The Emanation of the Human Race and the Day of Covenant

In direct connection with the interpretation of the Qur’ānic verse “and when thy Lord (*rabb*) took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their seed (*durriyyah*), and made them testify touching themselves, ‘Am I not your Lord (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*)?’”, they said, ‘Yes, we testify (*balā šahidnā*)!’” (7, 172), Tustarī expounds his conception of the spiritual emanation of the human race from their prophetic ancestors, who in turn represent stages in the light-emanation from the light of Muḥammad. Selecting the Qur’ānic term *durriyyah* (seed) and the etymologically related *darr* (atoms, specks; collective plural of *darrāh*) as the cue, Tustarī differentiates between three specks or three seeds: Muḥammad, Ādam, and the offspring of Ādam.

Muḥammad, the Muḥammad of pre-existence, was created of divine light. When he had stood as a column of light before God for a million years in primordial adoration, “God created Ādam from the light of Muḥammad”<sup>13</sup>, or according to another passage of the *Tafsīr*, “He created Ādam from the clay of divine might (*ṭīn al-‘izzah*) from the light of Muḥammad (*min nūr Muḥammad*).”<sup>14</sup>

Not only Ādam is formed from Muḥammad’s light, but the whole universe participates in this emanation of light: “The light of the prophets (*nūr al-anbiyā*) is from his (Muḥammad’s) light and the light of the heavenly kingdom (*malakūt*) is from his light, and the light of this world (*dunyā*) and of the world to come (*āḥirah*) is from his light.”<sup>15</sup> The spiritual masters and divinely-desired (*murādūn*) and the spiritual disciples and God-seekers (*murīdūn*) also take part in this successive light-emanation, though there are two somewhat different parallel passages concerning the source of this emanation of light. In the *Tafsīr*, the ‘Divinely-desired’ (*murādūn*) directly emanate from Muḥammad’s light, while the ‘God-seekers’ (*murīdūn*) issue from Ādam’s light. Tustarī says: “God created the *murīdīn* from the light of Ādam (*nūr Ādam*) and He created the *murādīn* from the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*).”<sup>16</sup> In Makkī’s and

<sup>12</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41.

<sup>13</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41; Makkī, *‘Ilm al-qulūb*, 94; Dailamī, *‘Atf al-alif*, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 47.

<sup>16</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41.

Dailamī's variant, Tustarī perceives a progressive emanation from Ādam's light-nature: "He (God) created the *murādīn* from Ādam's light and He created the *murīdīn* from the light of the *murādīn*."<sup>17</sup> It appears that the *murādūn* prefigure the prototypes of the prophets and mystics in the world of pre-existence, whereas the *murīdūn* represent the spiritual archetypes of the human race, although Tustarī's *Tafsīr* does not state this explicitly.

When the pre-existential and temporal universe as well as the prophetic and spiritual prototypes had completed the emanation of light ultimately from Muḥammad's light, Muḥammad was shaped in body (*ġasad*), in his terrestrial form, from the clay of Ādam (*ṭīn Ādam*).<sup>18</sup> This clay of Ādam in turn had been formed from the column of light in which Muḥammad had served his Lord in pre-existence.<sup>19</sup> Tustarī seems to have understood this divine light as an integral part of the matter of the temporal universe. This at least is suggested by a statement in *Kalām Sahl* where the divine light is counted among the four elements of the things: "Sahl said, the root-elements of the things (*uṣūl al-aṣyā'*) are four, the light of divine might (*nūr al-'izzah*), the fire of divine might (*nār al-'izzah*), the spirit of divine might (*rūḥ al-'izzah*), and the clay of divine might (*ṭīn al-'izzah*)."<sup>20</sup> Ṣaḡalī's commentary further specifies this statement: "the angels (*malā'ikah*) were created from the light of divine might, the cosmic spirits (*ġinn*) were created from the fire of the divine might, the body (*ġuttah*) of Ādam was created from the clay of the divine might, and all the spirits (*arwāḥ*) were created from the spirit of divine might."<sup>21</sup>

On the day of the primordial covenant (*yaum al-mītāq*), also called by Tustarī, 'the day of the specks' (*yaum al-darr*) according to Makkī's *'Ilm al-qulūb*<sup>22</sup> when, in pre-existence, God asked the human race to acknowledge Him as their Lord, "God took the prophets from the back (*ṣaḥr*) of Ādam. Then He took from the back of every prophet his progeny (*durriyyah*) in the shape of specks (*darr*) that have intellects (*'uqūl*)."<sup>23</sup>

From the prophets (*anbiyā'*) God took the covenant (*mītāq*). Tustarī finds the Qur'ānic reference to this event in the verse, "and when We took compact from the prophets (*id āḥadnā min an-nabiyyīn mītāqahum*), and from thee (Muḥammad) and from Nūḥ" (33, 7). By this covenant God established His command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*) before the prophets

<sup>17</sup> Makkī, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 94; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 33.

<sup>18</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41; Makkī, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 94; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> Makkī, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 94; Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 33f.

<sup>20</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 222b.

<sup>21</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 222b.

<sup>22</sup> Makkī, *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 93.

<sup>23</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40.

and summoned them all to profess His lordship (*rubūbiyyah*). He asked them, "Am I not your Lord?" (7, 172) and made manifest to them His omnipotence (*qudrah*). Upon their profession of God's lordship with the Qur'ānic *balā* (they said, yes we testify), "God gathered His design (*murād*) from His creation"<sup>24</sup> and apprised them of the origin (*ibtidā*) and final outcome (*intihā*) which He keeps in store for them. Both their primordial beginnings and their ultimate destiny are included in their answer of *balā* in the presence of God's manifestation, although it implies trial (*ibtilā*), man being put to test by God "whose Throne ('*arṣ*) was upon the waters that He might try you (*li-yablūwakum*)" (11, 7).

God instructed the prophets to preach His command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*), to support one another and to believe in Muḥammad.<sup>25</sup> Then God summoned the whole of mankind from the loins of their primordial prophets. Addressing them, He disclosed to them His divine decree, accepted their primordial profession of faith and endowed them with the intellect as His testimonial for mankind. "Thereupon He (God) extracted (*istabraqa*) from the back (*ṣaḥr*) of every prophet his seed (*ḍurriyyah*) and made the prophets testify for their seeds, touching themselves as a proof (*ḥuḡḡatan*). . . . Thereupon He made them return into the loins of Adam (*ṣulb Ādam*)."<sup>26</sup> Before their re-entrance into the loins of Adam, "God (*al-ḥaqq*) addressed them (the specks) and they comprehended the address (*ḥiṭāb*) coming from Him and they understood through it the divine design (*murād*). The proof (*ḥuḡḡah*), affixed to their prototypes (*amtāl*) is the intellect ('*aql*) which is capable of describing (the creative power of) His omnipotence (*wasf qudratihi*), a proof against those who oppose Him and serve someone else than Him";<sup>27</sup> or as expressed in Dailamī's '*Atf al-alif*: "The proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*) is obvious against one who associates partners (with God) (*man aṣraka*), and His omnipotence (*qudratuhu*) is evident for one who obeys Him (*man aṭā'ahu*)."<sup>28</sup> Thus, "on the day of the Covenant the specks answered the Lord of all-Being by (means of) the intuition of the spirit (*dihn ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*) and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*) so that the proof of the Lord (*al-ḥuḡḡah min ar-rabb*) fell to their share."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40.

<sup>25</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 93, with reference to Qur'ān 4, 21 and 3, 81.

<sup>26</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 93; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> Dailamī, '*Atf al-alif*, 34.

<sup>29</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 92.



Then God charged the prophets with their earthly mission of reminding mankind of the primordial covenant and recalling for them the Day on which they professed His lordship and acknowledged His oneness and omnipotence. This final commission concluded the inauguration of prophet-hood in pre-existence and completed the Covenant. Recognizing the actions of the believers and unbelievers in His divine forethought, God proceeded to create man in the earth as His viceroy and decreed the Hour of Resurrection:

"Then He (God) entrusted the prophets with the mission (*ba'ata al-anbiya'*) to remind mankind (*li-yadkurahum*) of His compact (*'ahd*) and His covenant (*mithaq*). On the Day (*yaum*) on which they made their profession (*aqarru bi-ma aqarru bihi*) He, in His knowledge (*'ilm*), was aware of those who would deny Him and of those who would believe in Him. The Hour (of Resurrection, *sa'ah*) will not be established until the expiration of every breath (= soul) upon which the Covenant was established. Thereupon the Hour will be appointed."<sup>30</sup>

The disconnected references and jottings which can still be gathered from the relevant sources outline Tustarī's conception of the primordial events as focused on the Day of Covenant in pre-existence. The human race, embryonically enshrined in its prophetic prototypes like the seed of progeny in the loins of man, emanates from them in the form of particles or specks endowed with intellects. Summoned with their prophetic prototypes to acknowledge God's oneness and lordship in the presence of the manifestation of His omnipotence, they enter into covenant with God by their affirmative answer to the question, "Am I not your Lord?". Their answer of "yes, we testify" to God's address is engraved upon the intellect of man as a proof which reminds man of God's lordship. Although this primordial decision of man to affirm God's lordship in the face of His manifestation implicitly entails the original and ultimate destiny of man, it is to be verified and tested in the period of divine trial which is man's phenomenal existence in the world of creation. The prophets are sent by God on their mission in the world of creation in order to effect within man the recollection of his primordial perfection.

In essence, Tustarī affirms four primordial events prior to the creation of man on the face of the earth. Firstly, the human race issues from the light of Muḥammad in the state of luminous particles that take corporate form in the primal man, Adam. Secondly, the human race, in the shape of specks endowed with intellects, emanates from the prophetic prototypes who are embryonically enshrined in the primal Adam. Thirdly, God enters into primordial covenant with the prophets by accepting their profession of His lordship and commissions them to their prophetic task. Fourthly, God

<sup>30</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40.

summons mankind from the loins of the prophetic prototypes and presents the human race with the proof of their intellectual nature in their act of comprehending the divine address. Thus, it appears that the self-consciousness of man derives from the moment of primordial covenant when mankind responded to the testimonial of divine lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) with their first profession of faith.

### c) The Heart of Muḥammad, the Seat and Source of Mystical Union

God has created one privileged reality for mankind, which eminently includes and prefigures the primordial and ultimate destiny of man, and which constitutes the seat and source of scriptural revelation and mystical union, the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*). An independent source, the *Kitāb aš-šifā'* of the Qāḍī 'Iyād b Mūsā (d. 544/1149), has preserved a fragmentary reference that attests to the intrinsic unity between Tustarī's conception of *nūr Muḥammad* and his notion of *qalb Muḥammad*. Furthermore, this fragment demonstrates that both themes, in their original setting, derive from the context of Tustarī's commentary on the light verse of the Qur'ān (24, 35). The light nature of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*), constituted as the luminous reflection of divine light in pre-existence permeates the total, living reality of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*), transforming its physical and spiritual nature into a receptacle of the divine iridescence of light. According to 'Iyād b Mūsā, Tustarī interprets the vocabulary of the light verse in the following manner:

"The likeness of his light (*maṭalu nūrihi*) (refers to) the likeness of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*), since it is deposited (*mustauda'an*) in the loins (*aṣṣalab*) like (in) a niche (*miškāt*), the attribute (*ṣifāh*) of which is . . . By the lamp (*miṣbāḥ*) He meant his heart (*qalb*) and by the glass (*zuḡāḡah*) his breast (*ṣadr*). It is as if it were a glittering star (*kaṭkab durriy*) because of the faith (*īmān*) and wisdom (*ḥikmah*) that is included in it. It is kindled from a blessed tree (*ṣaḡarah mubārakah*), that is to say from the light of Abraham (*nūr Ibrāhīm*). Its oil (*zait*) wellnigh would shine, that is to say the prophethood of Muḥammad (*nubuwwah Muḥammad*) wellnigh would elucidate mankind prior to his (actual utterance of) speech (*kalām*) like this oil."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 'Iyād b Mūsā, Al-Qāḍī Abu'l-Faḍl Al-Yaḥṣubī Al-Andalusī, *Kitāb aš-šifā' bi-ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, 2 vols., Damascus 1392/1972, I, 58f. 'Iyād b Mūsā also defines "Muḥammad" as the true meaning of Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic phrase that cites "God's blessing (*nī'mat Allāh*)" (14, 35) for mankind (I, 69) and appears to intimate that Tustarī viewed the Qur'ānic cues "from God a light (*min Allāh nūr*)" (5, 15) and "a light-giving lamp (*sirāḡan munīran*)" (33, 46) as symbolic expressions for the total, living reality of Muḥammad (I, 60).

Tustarī finds the Qur'ānic cue for his mystical imagery of the *qalb Muḥammad* in a passage that is traditionally linked with the legend of the opening of Muḥammad's breast and the angelic purification of his heart: "Did We (God) not expand thy breast (*ṣadr*) for thee and lift from thee thy burden (*wizr*), the burden that weighed down thy back? Did We not exalt thy fame (*dīkr*)? So truly with hardship comes ease (*yusr*), truly with hardship comes ease. So when thou art empty, labour, and let thy Lord (*rabb*) be thy Quest" (94, 1–8). Tustarī's rendering of the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of this *sūrah* is somewhat disjointed but draws distinct contours of his conception of the heart of Muḥammad:

"'Did We not expand thy breast for thee' (94, 1): did We not widen your breast (*ṣadr*) through the light of the prophetic mission (*nūr ar-risālah*) and so make it a mine (*ma'dīn*) for the spiritual realities (*ḥaqā'iq*)? The initial expansion (*awwal aṣ-ṣarḥ*) occurs through the light of Islām (*nūr al-islām*), as God said 'whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islām' (6, 125). Then He augments the degrees (*manāzil*) in addition to (this light) and so the lights (*anwār*) come to consist in intuitive insights (*baṣā'ir*) in proportion to the infusion of the divine gifts (*mawāhib*)."<sup>32</sup>

"'And lift from thee thy burden' (94, 2) which means, We withdrew from you the confident abandonment to other than Us (*as-sukūn ilā gairinā*) which is due to the inner drive (*himmah*) of the natural self (*nafs aṭ-ṭab'*), and We made you abide in Us (*sākinan ilainā*) and receive from Us, through Us (*qābilan 'annā binā*)."<sup>33</sup> Baqlī cites the following variant of Tustarī's statement: "We withdrew from you any inner drive (*himmah*) except that to Us, and any thought (*fikrah*) in someone else than Us, and any motion (*ḥarakah*) and abeyance (*sukūn*) except (what occurs) by our Command (*amr*)."<sup>34</sup> Tustarī continues in the *Tafsīr*: "'Did we not exalt thy fame' (94, 4) which means We linked (*waṣalnā*) your name (*ismaka*) with Our Name (*bi-isminā*) in the recollection (*dīkr*) and the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) so that man's faith (*īmān al-'abd*) is not (divinely) accepted until he believes in you."<sup>35</sup>

"'So truly with hardship comes ease' (94, 5): In this verse God extolled the state of hope (*ḥāl ar-rağā'*) in His kindness (*karam*) and His hidden grace (*lutf*), for He twice mentioned 'ease' (namely in verse 94, 5 and 94, 6).

<sup>32</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 287 a/347 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 377; 'Iyāḍ b Mūsā, *Kitāb aṣ-ṣifā'*, I, 60.

<sup>33</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123.

<sup>34</sup> Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 378.

<sup>35</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123.

The Prophet said, (God mentioned it twice) so that one hardship may not overcome two eases; that is to say the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*) and the intellect (*‘aql*) are two ‘eases’ which overcome the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab’*), for they both make man return to purity of intention (*iḥlās*). The meaning of the verse in its hidden sense (*bāṭin*) is: so truly in spite of the hardship (*šiddah*) of the natural self, which is in need of the divine Essence (*dat al-ḥaqq*), upon the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), comes the ease (*subhūlah*) of the spiritual self, the intellect, and the discernment of the heart; and this, in the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*), is the confident abandonment (*taskīn*) of the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*) to the (divine) succour (*i‘ānah*) in fear (*ḥaufan*). For God said, over the coarse natural self (*nafs at-ṭab’ al-katīf*) of you We made master the subtle substances (*latā’if*) of the spiritual self, the intellect, the heart, and the understanding (*fahm*) which were foreordained by the mighty gift (*mauhibah*) before the beginning of creation (*bad’ al-ḥalq*) by a million years, and so overcame the natural self.”<sup>36</sup>

“‘So when thou art empty’ (94, 7) from your prayer (*ṣalāt*) which is prescribed (*maktūbah*) and you are sitting back (*ḡālis*), ‘then labour’ (94, 7) towards your Lord (*rabb*) and return to Him as you were antecedent to the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab’*) before the beginning of creation: one individual with another (*fardan bi-fardin*), a secret with a secret (*sirran bi-sirrin*). For God granted Muḥammad the likeness of his primordial rank (*matāla manzilatihī as-sābiqah*) in this world (*dunyā*); as the Prophet said, ‘I possess a moment (*waqt*) with God and no other does encompass me’. This is the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the verse, its literal meaning (*ẓāhir*) is that (discovered) by the people of external explanation (*ahl az-ẓāhir*).”<sup>37</sup>

In his mystical interpretation of this passage, Tustarī views the widened breast of Muḥammad as a treasure mine for the spiritual realities, because in addition to the light of Islām it includes divinely infused insights which constitute the spiritual richness of the heart of Muḥammad. The root of this richness is the confident abandonment of Muḥammad’s heart to God from Whom he directly receives, in Whom he abides, and with Whom his name is linked up. In its inner structure the spiritual reality of Muḥammad is composed of two selves: the spiritual self with intellect and discernment of heart, and the natural self, the seat of the inner drives and instinctive motions of human nature. Muḥammad is understood as being encouraged by God to return here and now, in this world, to the state of his primordial vision of his Lord, to the encounter one to one before the beginning of

<sup>36</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123.

<sup>37</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123.

creation by a million years, when his spiritual self was not yet burdened by his natural self.

Four isolated phrases, a divine address of Muḥammad (73, 1), an asseverative passage (86, 1–3), a reference to the “first house” (3, 96) and an ambiguous Qur’ānic cue (10, 2) are also understood by Tustarī as references to Muḥammad’s spiritual reality. Tustarī determines the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the Qur’ānic address of Muḥammad, “O thou enwrapped in thy robes” (73, 1) as being an allusion to the divine element enshrined in Muḥammad, since he says: “it is a name of him (Muḥammad) which means, ‘O thou who collects himself (*al-ḡāmi*’ *nafsahu*) while the divine Self (*nafs Allāh*) is near him.”<sup>38</sup>

The asseverative passage of the Qur’ān (86, 1–3) which invokes the heaven (*samā’*) and the night-star (*ṭāriq*) is interpreted by Tustarī as a hidden reference to Muḥammad’s heart. After explaining that in ordinary language “heaven” means “height”, he continues: “the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of it (heaven) is the spirit of Muḥammad (*rūḥ Muḥammad*) standing before the Lord of Might (*qā’im ‘inda rabb al-‘izzah*) and the night-star, ‘the piercing star’ (86, 3), refers to his heart (*qalbuhu*), resplendent (*muṣriq*) with the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd Allāh*), the declaration of the purity of His perfection (*tanzīh*), the perseverance (*mudāwamah*) of recollection (*adkār*), and the contemplative witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*) of the Omnipotent (*ḡabbār*).”<sup>39</sup>

In refuting Tustarī’s commentary on the Qur’ānic verse, “the first House (*bait*) established for the people” (3, 96), Ṣāṭibī’s *Muwāfaqāt* cites the correct reading of Tustarī’s explanation that “the hidden meaning of the house (*bāṭin al-bait*) is the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*).”<sup>40</sup>

Finally, Tustarī’s commentary on the Qur’ānic phrase, “a sure footing with their Lord (*qadama ṣidqin ‘inda rabbihim*)” (10, 2) appears to envisage the total and living reality of Muḥammad because it is interpreted by Tustarī as meaning “a primordial mercy (*sābiqatu raḥmatin*) which God deposited (*auda’ahā*) in Muḥammad.”<sup>41</sup>

Sūrah 93, 1–11 which vividly depicts God’s guidance of Muḥammad throughout the vicissitudes of his life, is taken by Tustarī as a metaphor for Muḥammad’s heart, his natural and spiritual self, which is in search of

<sup>38</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 111.

<sup>39</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 118.

<sup>40</sup> Ṣāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Al-Laḥmī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341/1922, III, 241; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 37.

<sup>41</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 45; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 76b/97a; Baqlī, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, I, 356; ‘Iyāḍ b. Mūsā, *Kitāb as-sifā’*, I, 78.

intuitive knowledge of God and is saturated by God's love. Tustarī's commentary reads:

"'By the white forenoon' (93, 1) in the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) refers to the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*). 'And the brooding night' (93, 2) refers to the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab*) when it calmly relies (*sakana ilā*) on the spiritual self in continuous recollection of God (*idāmat ad-dīk li-llāh*). 'And the Last shall be better for thee than the First' (93, 4) means: that which I keep in store for you in the world to come (*āḥirah*) concerning the praised stage (*al-maqām al-maḥmūd*) and the place of intercession (*maḥall aš-šafā'ah*) is better than what I give to you in this world (*dunyā*) concerning prophethood (*nubuwwah*) and prophetic mission (*risālah*)."<sup>42</sup>

"'Did He not find thee an orphan and shelter thee' (93, 6) means: did He not find you lonely (*fardan*) and gave you shelter with your companions (*aṣḥāb*)? 'Did He not find thee erring and guide thee' (93, 7) means: did He not find you unaware of the eminent value (*qadr*) of your self (*nafs*) and make you aware of your eminent value? Did He not find you erring from the meanings of your pure affection (*mawaddah*) and give you to drink from the potion of His affection (*šarāb mawaddatihi*) with the cup of His love (*maḥabbah*) and guide you to the intuitive knowledge of Him (*hadāka ilā ma'rifatihi*)? He bestowed upon you the robes of honour (*ḥila*) of being His prophet (*nubuwwah*) and His messenger (*risālah*) in order to guide you by these (distinctions) to His proximity (*qurb*) and unicity (*waḥdāniyyah*). Or, from another perspective, did He not find you, namely your self (*nafs*), the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab*), a mendicant (*faqīrah*) on the way of intuitive knowledge (*ma'rifah*)? 'Did He not find thee needy and enrich thee' (93, 8) means: did He not find your self (*nafs*) confused, bewildered at the intuitive knowledge of Us (*binā*), a mendicant in search of it, and thus strengthened your spiritual self (*nafs rūḥika*) and enriched it with the Qur'ān, with wisdom (*ḥikmah*)?"<sup>43</sup>

Muḥammad's heart, fortified by divine knowledge and saturated with divine love, becomes the well-spring for the illumination of the hearts of men and a treasure mine of God's revelation to mankind. Tustarī demonstrates this fundamental function of Muḥammad's heart by his exegesis of the Qur'ānic verses 11, 40 and 89, 1 on the one hand, and by his interpretative remarks on the Qur'ānic verses 7, 157 and 26, 193 on the other hand. Both strands of mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān not only evidence Muḥammad's heart as the organ of spiritual vision which absorbs

<sup>42</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 286 a/372 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 376; 'Iyād b Mūsā, *Kitāb aš-šifā'*, I, 96.

<sup>43</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 286 b/372 a.

the divine manifestation, but also emphasize it as the root and source of man's mystical union with the divine Reality as it manifests Itself.

By way of an exegesis of contrast Tustarī depicts Muḥammad's heart as the well-spring of divine knowledge when he comments on the Qur'ānic keynote of the "boiling oven (*tannūr*)" (11, 40). This boiling oven from which break forth the devastating waters of the deluge is interpreted by Tustarī as a sign of God's punishment and contrasted with Muḥammad's heart, from which breaks forth the lightflood of knowledge, a sign of God's mercy for men of faith. Tustarī says: "It was an oven of stone; it was Adam's oven and fell to Noah's share. God made the waters that burst forth from it a sign of His punishment (*'adāb*), and He made the well-springs (*yanbū' 'uyūn*) that gush forth from Muḥammad's heart (*qalb Muḥammad*) with the lights of knowledge (*anwār al-'ulūm*) a (sign of) mercy (*rahmah*) for his community (*ummah*)."<sup>44</sup>

The invocation of the day-break (*fağr*) at the beginning of sūrah 89 is also taken by Tustarī in its hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) as a reference to Muḥammad's heart from which break forth the lights of spiritual realities. Tustarī says: "The day-break is Muḥammad, from whom the lights (*anwār*) break forth, the lights of faith (*anwār al-īmān*), the lights of works of obedience (*anwār at-ṭā'āt*) and the lights of the two worlds (*anwār al-kaunain*)."<sup>45</sup>

Crucial evidence for Tustarī's understanding of Muḥammad's heart as the font of mystical attainment is found in a statement by Dailamī, who in his *'Atf al-alif* cites Tustarī's idea of the emanation of divine light and says by way of comment: "According to this (Tustarī's) statement the love (*maḥabbah*) of every mystic lover (*muḥibb*) is bound to come from that mine (*ma'din*) which is the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*). For his heart is the mine (*ma'din*) of the precious substance (*ḡauhar*) which is the mystical union (*tauhīd*) of those who experience God's unification (*muwahhidīn*). It is the font (*mağriz*) of the intuitive knowledge of God (*ma'rifah*) of the gnostics (*'arīfīn*) and the well-spring (*manba'*) of the saturation of the hearts (*ṣurb al-qulūb*) of the lovers of God (*muḥibbīn*)."<sup>46</sup>

Tustarī's conception of the heart of Muḥammad as the treasure mine of mystical union is further developed in the first introductory chapter of the *Tafsīr* where he makes the following cryptic statement: "There is neither an escape for man (*'abd*) from his Master (*maulā*), nor from His Book (*kitāb*), nor from His prophet (*nabī*) since his (Muḥammad's) heart (*qalb*)

<sup>44</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 47.

<sup>45</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 120.

<sup>46</sup> Dailamī, *'Atf al-alif*, 34.

is the mine (*ma'din*) of His (God's) Oneness and his breast (*ṣadr*) is a light (*nūr*) from His (God's) substance (*ḡauhar*). He took his powers (*quwāhu*) from his mine (*ma'din*) to his temple (*haikal*)."<sup>47</sup>

The metaphor of Muḥammad's heart for the core and essence of Muḥammad in his spiritual and physical form expresses the condensed total, living reality of Muḥammad. Muḥammad's heart, which is described as a treasure mine, is enshrined in his breast like the jewel in the chest. The jewel of Muḥammad's heart sparkles in its pristine light, radiates and spreads its light in the whole breast. It receives its pristine light from the divine substance (which according to a gloss in the text is not identical with God's essence, *dāt*, but is viewed as a possessive attribute of God, '*alā ṭariq al-milk*'),<sup>48</sup> and thus holds the treasure of the light of the divine Oneness. This divine Oneness, which at the same time signifies the divine Unicity of the Transcendent as well as the divine Unification with mystic man, progresses through the stages of the total, living reality of Muḥammad. It takes its course from the heart, spreads in the breast where it unfolds its powers (namely the faculties of the human soul), and empowers the organs and limbs of the body (*ḡawāriḥ*). To complete the image, Muḥammad's body is figuratively portrayed as the shrine (*haikal*) which shelters the jewel and its receptacle.

Tustarī's statement about the heart and breast of man as likened to God's throne and footstool is quoted by Makkī, Ġazzālī, Hamadānī and Suhrawardī although it is not cited in the *Tafsīr*. In one passage Makkī states: "Abū Muḥammad Sahl used to say, the breast (*ṣadr*) is the footstool (*kursī*), and the heart (*qalb*) is the throne ('*arṣ*). God Most Blessed and Most High places upon it (*wāḍi' alaihi*) His majesty ('*azamah*) and glory (*ḡalāl*), and is witnessed (*maṣhūd*) through His grace (*lutf*) and proximity (*qurb*)."<sup>49</sup> In another passage he says: "Abū Muḥammad Sahl said, the heart (*qalb*) and the breast (*ṣadr*) are like the throne ('*arṣ*) and the footstool (*kursī*)."<sup>50</sup> Hamadānī cites Tustarī's statement as "the heart (*qalb*) is the throne ('*arṣ*) and the breast (*ṣadr*) is the footstool (*kursī*)"<sup>51</sup> while Suhrawardī quotes the saying as "the heart (*qalb*) is like the throne ('*arṣ*) and the breast (*ṣadr*) is like the footstool (*kursī*)."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭariq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932; cf. II, 142; Ġazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b Muḥammad, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1358/1939, III, 4 f.

<sup>50</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, I, 175; Ġazzālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn* III, 10.

<sup>51</sup> Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, 147.

<sup>52</sup> Suhrawardī, *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, 169.



If these references originally applied to the spiritual reality of Muḥammad, Tustarī's mystical imagery of Muḥammad's heart might also have to be conceived of against the background of the oriental monarch. Adorned with the royal emblems of diadem and sceptre, the monarch in the presence of his court, is seated on his throne, his feet resting on a footstool, while the throne stands on a dias covered by a canopy in the royal hall. The heart and breast enclosed in Muḥammad's body would thus have to be understood as seat and locus of the manifestation of the divine reality in its temple (*baikal*) which is the total body of Muḥammad with its organs and limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*). As throne and footstool serve as the support which holds the presence of the monarch, so Muḥammad's heart and breast are viewed as the receptacle of the divine manifestation.

Muḥammad's heart is not only the seat and source of mystical union but also of divine revelation. Two aphorisms of Tustarī, cited in the introductory chapters of the *Tafsīr* and loosely linked to two Qur'ānic verses, define Muḥammad's heart as the treasure mine of the Qur'ān, the embodiment of scriptural revelation. Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic phrase "the light (*nūr*) that has been sent down with him (*Muḥammad*)" (7, 157) as meaning "the Qur'ān whose mine (*ma'din*) is the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*)."<sup>53</sup>

At two points in the *Tafsīr* Tustarī comments on the Qur'ānic passage, "Truly it is the revelation (*tanzīl*) of the Lord of all being (*rabb al-'ālamīn*), brought down by the Faithful Spirit (*ar-rūḥ al-amīn*) upon thy heart (*qalb*), that thou mayest be one of the warners (*mundirīn*)" (26, 192–194). In one instance he says in explanation: "God sent down the Qur'ān to His Prophet (*nabī*) and made his heart (*qalb*) a mine (*ma'din*) for the profession of His Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and for the Qur'ān."<sup>54</sup> In the other instance Tustarī states: "According to the measure of the light (*miqdār an-nūr*) which God foreordained for him (*qasamahū*), he (*Muḥammad*) finds the guidance (*hidāyah*) of his heart (*qalb*) and its intuitive vision (*baṣīrah*). So he gains insight over His (God's) attributes (*ḡahara 'alā ṣifātihi*), the lights of His light (*anwār nūrihi*). God said, 'and to whomsoever God assigns no light (*nūr*), no light has he' (24, 40)."<sup>55</sup>

Tustarī perceives Muḥammad's heart as a prefiguration of the perfection of man's destiny: the union of mystic man with the divine reality made manifest. Thus Muḥammad's heart is seen as the fount of man's mystical union with God, as the treasure mine of scriptural revelation, and as the

<sup>53</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4.

<sup>54</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>55</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 4.

well-spring of mystical knowledge. It directly receives this spiritual richness from the divine source of light in a primordial aeon of contemplative adoration of God, during which it absorbs the divinely manifested realities. Filled with the realities of divine knowledge and love it becomes the source of illumination and saturation of mystic man.

## 2. Theophanic Events and the Day of Resurrection

Tustarī's range of mystical ideas depicts man as being driven in his inner dynamics to his ultimate destiny, described by the events of the Day of Resurrection. This post-existential Day, beyond the phenomenal existence of man in the world of creation, introduces man to his final and lasting state in the eternal presence of the Transcendent, and opens up for him the life of paradise, gratified by the bliss of theophanic encounter.

On the Day of Resurrection, God remains Absolute Mystery and Transcendent Reality, but manifests Himself in His theophany to all those who have reached the permanence of His vision. On the Day of Covenant man experienced God through the mediation of the prophetic prototypes, now on the Day of Resurrection he is drawn close to communion with the divine Reality in his own right. He no longer is a pure particle of a prophet's corporate personality but lives in the divine permanence as a friend of God. The experience of God's presence has become experience of His intimacy, the profession of the divine Lordship has turned into the permanent perception of the divine Reality, and the primordial covenant has been fulfilled in perpetual theophany.

Two themes of Tustarī's mystical interpretation of the Qur'ān portray God in His events on the Day of Resurrection. The first theme is developed by the image of the permanent vision and encounter of the Transcendent Reality (*al-ḥaqq*). Tustarī emphasizes that God, who stands uniquely in his divine Essence (*dāt al-ḥaqq*) and its attributes (*ṣifāt dāt al-ḥaqq*), is attained by prophetic and mystic man. When on the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*) mankind will be summoned to account for their actions in the world of creation, men found righteous in the reckoning (*ḥisāb*) will be admitted to the encounter with God (*liqā' al-ḥaqq*), the vision of God (*an-naẓar ila'l-ḥaqq*), and the life in the permanence of God (*baqā' al-ḥaqq*). Thus in his ultimate destiny man's experience of God in beatific vision is that of the Real (*ḥaqq*), the transcendent principle and final ground of all being. Whereas God in His events on the Day of Covenant is predominantly perceived and professed as Lord (*rabb*), He is permanently perceived and encountered as Transcendent reality (*ḥaqq*) in

His events on the Day of Resurrection. This doctrine of the *Tafsīr*, despite some minor terminological inconsistencies, can be substantiated by a variety of Tustarī's aphorisms and interpretative remarks on Qur'ānic verses.

The second theme introduces Tustarī's mystical understanding of the idea of *tağallī*, the theophany of the Transcendent Reality. He views *tağallī* as the truly beatific event in the world to come, when God manifests Himself to His friends (*auliyā'*), the blessed in paradise (*ḡannah*). This theophany represents the gist of man's encounter and vision of God and is the delight (*ladḍah*) of his life in the permanence of the Transcendent Reality. It signifies the revelation of unveiling (*tağallī al-mukāṣafah*) which manifests God in his hidden totality, namely in His Essence (*dāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*), and implies the revelation of the divine decree (*tağallī ḥukm ad-dāt*) which, established from eternity in primordial times, is now unfolded to fill the eyes of the blessed with gladness. The theophany, as the perpetual self-manifestation of the divine Reality, thus transfigures man through its irradiation, transforms him through its illumination, and brings his life of ultimate destiny and final glory to fulfilment.

#### a) The Encounter of the Transcendent Reality

Tustarī views God, the ultimate ground of being and transcendent Reality (*ḥaqq*), as unique in His Essence and attributes. Miscellaneous fragments of Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ānic verses, which are solidly supported by parallel quotations of Sulamī's *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, illustrate his understanding of *al-ḥaqq* in His Essence and attributes. To quote a few examples:

The Qur'ānic phrase, "God (*Allāh*) bears witness that there is no god (*ilāh*) but He" (3, 18), is understood by Tustarī as a reference to God's testimony about Himself prior to the creation of man: "God (*al-ḥaqq*) bears witness to Himself by Himself (*ṣahida li-nafsihi bi-nafsihi*) and this is peculiar to His very Being (*dāt*, His Essence)."<sup>56</sup> He also interprets the Qur'ānic word of "the Holy Spirit (*rūḥ al-quḍus*)" (2, 87) as referring to God (*al-ḥaqq*) who "is untainted by offsprings (*awlād*), partners (*ṣurakā'*) and a consort (*ṣāhibah*)."<sup>57</sup> The verse, "O Believers, fear God (*Allāh*) as He should be feared" (3, 102) is understood by Tustarī as a reference to man's godfearing devotion, not as a reference to the fear of "that which God (*al-ḥaqq*) deserves (*yastahiqqu*) in His Essence (*fī-dātihi*)."<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 19a/23a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 14.

<sup>58</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 13f.

Tustarī explains the divine provision “if God wills” included in the Qur’ānic verse “you shall enter the Holy Mosque (*al-masğid al-ḥarām*), if God (*Allāh*) wills, in security” (48, 27), which refers to Muḥammad’s dream vision about the seizure of Makkah, as a provision made by God (*al-ḥaqq*) because of “the perfection of his knowledge (*kamāl ‘ilmihī*).”<sup>59</sup> He also considers “the fresh remembrance (*dīkr muḥdat*)” which comes from “the All-merciful (*ar-raḥmān*)” (26, 5) as belonging “to the attributes of God’s Essence (*ṣifāt dāt al-ḥaqq*) not to existentiated (*mukawwan*) and created (*mahlūq*) beings.”<sup>60</sup> His commentary on “the Names Most Beautiful (*al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*)” (7, 180) discovers “behind the names (*asāmī*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*), attributes which the minds (*afḥām*) do not pierce because God (*al-ḥaqq*) is a fire (*nār*) ablaze. There is no way (*sabīl*) to Him and no escape (*budd*) from plunging into Him (*al-iqtihām fihi*).”<sup>61</sup> *Al-Ḥaqq* is not only given the attributes of knowledge (*‘ilm*) and remembrance (*dīkr*) but also those of revelation. Thus Tustarī expands the Qur’ānic phrase “and He creates what you know not” (16, 8) by the statement “neither you nor any creature except if God (*al-ḥaqq*) so teaches him.”<sup>62</sup> In his commentary on the verse, “It is He who sent down the Shechina (*sakīnah*) into the hearts (*qulūb*) of the believers” (48, 4) he states: “This refers to the peace of mind (*tuma’nīnah*). For God (*Allāh*) discloses to His servants (*‘ibād*) first of all mental perceptions (*ma’ārif*), then the means of communication (*wasā’il*), then the peace of mind (*sakīnah*), then intuitive insights (*baṣā’ir*). And one to whom God (*al-ḥaqq*) discloses (*kāṣafa*) intuitive insights, knows the things (*aṣyā’*) in their precious substances (*ḡawāḥir*).”<sup>63</sup>

In Tustarī’s conception *Al-Ḥaqq* is also the ultimate reality attained by mystic and prophetic men at the peak of their experience. To quote the bare minimum of the relevant passages:

Faith (*īmān*) is “the light which God (*al-ḥaqq*) established in the hearts (*qulūb*) of men.”<sup>64</sup> In faith mystic man “attains to God (*yaṣīlu ila’l-ḥaqq*).”<sup>65</sup> The certainty (*yaqīn*) achieved by mystic man is “a light (*nūr*) of the light of God Himself (*dāt al-ḥaqq*).”<sup>66</sup> One who knows God (*man*

<sup>59</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 91; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 242 a/305 a; Baqlī, ‘*Arā’is al-bayān*, II, 264.

<sup>60</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 69.

<sup>61</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 63 b/80 b (the statement is anonymously quoted by Sulamī and may be of doubtful authenticity).

<sup>62</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 54 f.; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 111 b/143 b (anonymously quoted).

<sup>63</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 89; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 241 a/303 b (anonymously quoted, possibly of doubtful authenticity).

<sup>64</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 257).

<sup>65</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 29 (with reference to Qur’ān 3, 200).

<sup>66</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 40).

'*arafahu*) through God's knowledge (*'ilm Allāh*) has God acknowledge His design (*murād*) concerning him before Himself (*li-nafsihi*), while the creature (*ḥalq*) has no knowledge of God (*ma'rifat al-ḥaqq*) beyond that."<sup>67</sup> The good (*ḥair*) of man in this world (*dunyā*) consists in "the delight of worship (*laddat al-'ibādah*) and the love of God (*maḥabbat al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>68</sup>

The natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) of man is "in need (*iftiqār*) of God Himself (*dāt al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>69</sup> But because of his heedlessness and his inclination to passion and lust man is unable to comprehend the summons of God (*da'wat al-ḥaqq*)" and to hear "the voices of God (*hawātif al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>70</sup> Life (*ḥayāt*) means "that the planning (*tadbīr*) is taken away from the servant (*'abd*) and that he is returned to the forethought of God (*tadbīr al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>71</sup> The highest degree of trust in God (*tawakkul*) consists in "the utter reliance on God (*as-sukūn ila'l-ḥaqq*) in all states (*ḥālāt*),"<sup>72</sup> whereas the abandonment of creation (*tark al-ḥalq*) at the same time signifies "the drawing near to God (*al-iqbāl 'ala'l-ḥaqq*)."<sup>73</sup>

The prophet Ya'qūb is filled with sorrow over "the separation from God (*firāq al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>74</sup> Moses, who in the Qur'ān is said to have been brought near to God "in communion (*naḡiyyan*)" (19, 52) is granted the experience of "unveiling (*mukāṣafah*) which does not conceal from the hearts (*qulūb*) the blessing of God (*mann al-ḥaqq*) in discourse (*muḥā-datāh*) and loving affection (*wudd*)."<sup>75</sup> Moses is also admonished by God (*al-ḥaqq*) to invite Pharaoh to conversion with amiable conduct (*mulāṭafah*), beautiful discourse (*ḥiṭāb*) and gentle speech (*kalām*).<sup>76</sup>

The Qur'ānic words to Muḥammad concerning the youths who took refuge in the cave, "Hadst thou observed them surely thou wouldst have turned thy back on them in flight" (18, 18), are interpreted by Tustarī as meaning: "Hadst thou observed them with (the eyes of) your own self (*bi-nafsika*) surely thou wouldst have turned thy back on them in flight. Hadst thou observed them with (the eyes of) God (*bi'l-ḥaqq*) surely thou wouldst have abided by the divinely granted realities of divine Oneness

<sup>67</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 73 (with reference to Qur'ān 29, 43).

<sup>68</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 72 (with reference to Qur'ān 28, 72).

<sup>69</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123 (with reference to Qur'ān 94, 5).

<sup>70</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 83 (with reference to Qur'ān 41, 5); Sulamī *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 224b/283b.

<sup>71</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 56 (with reference to Qur'ān 16, 97); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 115b/148b.

<sup>72</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 31 (with reference to Qur'ān 4, 81).

<sup>73</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 47 (with reference to Qur'ān 11, 3); Sulamī *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 82b/105a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 383.

<sup>74</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 50 (with reference to Qur'ān 12, 86).

<sup>75</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60.

<sup>76</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 62f. (with reference to Qur'ān 20, 44).

within them (*ḥaqā'iq al-waḥdāniyyah fihim minhu*).<sup>77</sup> The “soul (*nafs*)” mentioned in the Qur’anic words of Jesus, “Thou knowest what is within my soul, and I know not what is within thy soul” (5, 116), is understood by Tustarī as “the eye (*‘ain*) by which God (*al-ḥaqq*) sees, the ear (*udun*) by which God (*al-ḥaqq*) hears, and the tongue (*lisān*) by which God (*al-ḥaqq*) proclaims.”<sup>78</sup>

In the preceding paragraphs, a variety of Tustarī’s aphorisms was cited to outline his notion of the Transcendent Reality (*ḥaqq*), its Essence and attributes. Another series of references was quoted to illustrate his conception of *Al-Ḥaqq* as the goal of mystical attainment. These two notions evidence Tustarī’s conceptual usage of *Al-Ḥaqq* for the absolute and ultimate ground of all being, but do not exhaust his mystical perspective of the Transcendent Reality. For, Tustarī’s mystical view of *Al-Ḥaqq* only emerges in its full scope when it is seen against the background of the events on the Day of Resurrection.

On the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*) mankind shall be exposed before God (*al-ḥaqq*) in order to account for their deeds (*a’māl*). Thus Tustarī comments on the verse “On that day you shall be exposed, not one secret of yours concealed” (69, 18) and says: “You shall be exposed before God (*al-ḥaqq*) who will take you to account for your deeds (*a’māl*), not one of your deeds will be concealed before Him. All of them will be made known (*ma’rūf*) as charged (*muḥṣā*) to your account in His divine foreknowledge (*fi-‘ilmihī as-sābiq*).<sup>79</sup> God will weigh and judge the good deeds performed by man in the world of creation and the evil deeds they committed in this world. Those found righteous on the Day of Divine Reckoning (*yaum al-ḥisāb*) will enter the paradise (*ḡannah*) of their eternal reward. In paradise they will be granted the encounter (*liqā’*) with *Al-Ḥaqq*, the visual perception (*nazar*) of *Al-Ḥaqq* and the permanent subsistence (*baqā’*) with *Al-Ḥaqq*.

At various passages in the *Tafsīr* Tustarī refers to the delight of encounter with the Transcendent Reality enjoyed by the blessed of paradise. He describes the eternal bliss (*na’im*) of the pious (*abrār*) as the “encounter with Him and contemplation of Him (*liqā’uhu wa-muṣāḥadatuhu*).<sup>80</sup> Upon entering paradise the believers, out of “their longing (*ṣauq*) for encounter with him (*ilā liqā’ihī*), will say: ‘O Lord (*rabb*), perfect for us our light’ (66, 8) and provide us with Your encounter

<sup>77</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59.

<sup>78</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 34.

<sup>79</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 107.

<sup>80</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 116 (with reference to Qur’ān 82, 13).

(*liqā' aka*) and the goal of those in search (*ḡāyat at-ṭullāb*).<sup>81</sup> When man is given his eternal reward in paradise "he will return to his family joyfully" (84, 9) "at having realized the promise of encounter (*mī'ād al-liqā'*)."<sup>82</sup>

"In paradise (*ḡannah*) God has servants (*'ibād*) who, if they were veiled from the encounter (*liqā'*) for the twinkling of an eye, would call out for help in (paradise), just as the people of hellfire (*ahl an-nār*) call out for help in the fire because they are aware of it."<sup>83</sup> Man's "heart (*qalb*) has a thousand deaths (*maut*): the final death is being cut off from God (*al-qatī'ah 'an Allāh*). The heart has a thousand lives (*ḡayāt*): the final life is the encounter of God (*liqā' al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>84</sup> "There is no comfort for the believer (*mu'min*) without the encounter of God (*liqā' al-ḥaqq*)."<sup>85</sup>

This encounter of God "is the recompense (*ḡazā'*) for the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*)"<sup>86</sup> and includes the vision of God Himself. "The reality (*ḥaqīqah*) of the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) is the vision of God (*an-naẓar ilā'l-ḥaqq*)."<sup>87</sup> "The recompense (*ḡazā'*) of the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) is the vision of God (*an-naẓar ilā'l-ḥaqq*)."<sup>88</sup> For man's share (*naṣīb*) in the world to come (*āḥirah*) is "the sight of God (*ru'yat al-ḥaqq*) forever (*'ala'l-abad*)."<sup>89</sup> The "forgiveness from their Lord (*rabb*)" (47, 15), which man will find in paradise, is likened by Tustarī to "those of His lights (*anwār*) which cover them at the vision of God (*an-naẓar ilā'l-ḥaqq*)."<sup>90</sup>

Concerning those in hellfire who "shall be veiled from their Lord (*rabb*)" (83, 15) Tustarī says: "In the world to come (*āḥirah*) they shall be veiled (*maḥḡūbūn*) from the mercy (*raḥmah*) and vision of God (*an-naẓar ilā Allāh*), and from God's beholding (*naẓar*) them with contentment (*riḍā*) and satisfaction (*riḍwān*) while He interrogates them (*'inda munāqaṣatihi iyyāhum*) . . . (God) will make them enter hellfire (*nār*) and then will open up a panoramic view (*manāẓir*) upon them for the believers (*mu'minīn*), so that they may see them (*yanẓurūna ilaihim*) as they are burning in the fire

<sup>81</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 105; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 269b/345b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 333.

<sup>82</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 118.

<sup>83</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60f. (with reference to Qur'ān 19, 61).

<sup>84</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59 (with reference to Qur'ān 18, 28).

<sup>85</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 72 (with reference to Qur'ān 28, 76).

<sup>86</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85 (with reference to Qur'ān 43, 71); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 233b/293b; cf. Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 242.

<sup>87</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 111 (with reference to Qur'ān 72, 22).

<sup>88</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 113 (with reference to Qur'ān 75, 23).

<sup>89</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 84 (with reference to Qur'ān 42, 20).

<sup>90</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 88.

(*nār*).<sup>91</sup> On the contrary, those in the “gardens of Eden that the All-merciful promised his servants in the Unseen (*ḡaib*)” (19, 61) are depicted by Tustarī as enjoying “the visual beholding (*mu’āyanat al-ḥaqq*) in the sense of nearness (*qurb*) which God appointed between Him and them, so that the servant (*‘abd*) may behold his heart (*qalb*) in the nearness of God (*qurb al-ḥaqq*) as witnessed (*maṣhūd*) in the mystery of mysteries (*ḡaib al-ḡaib*).<sup>92</sup>

Finally Tustarī reminds his disciples that they carry God’s vision within themselves and says: “Do you not consider, that man (*‘abd*) only visually beholds God (*yanzura ila’l-ḥaqq*) by reason of a subtle substance (*latīfah*) from God (*al-ḥaqq*) which He united with his heart (*qalb*). It pertains to the qualities (*auṣāf*) of the Essence (*dāt*) of His Lord (*rabb*) and is neither existentiated (*mukawwanah*) nor created (*mahlūqah*), nor is it conjunct (with God *mauṣūlah*) nor is it cut off (from God, *maqtū’ah*). It is an absolute secret (*sirr min sirr ilā sirr*) and an ultimate mystery (*ḡaib min ḡaib ilā ḡaib*).<sup>93</sup>

Life in paradise, gratified by the encounter and vision of God, is understood by Tustarī as a life in divine permanence (*baqā’ al-ḥaqq*). Thus Tustarī interprets the Qur’ānic reference to “the ones who prosper (*al-muflihūn*)” (2, 5; 59, 9) as “those who will permanently stay in paradise (*al-bāqūna fī l-ḡannah*) in the permanence of God (*ma’a baqā’ al-ḥaqq*),<sup>94</sup> or as “those who stay permanently with God (*al-bāqūna ma’a Allāh*), living with His good life (*ḥayāt ṭayyibah bi-ḥayāt ṭayyibah*).<sup>95</sup> In paradise man lives in “the abode of permanence (*dār al-baqā’*)” and immortality (*ḥuld*).<sup>96</sup> The “mighty wage” (57, 7) promised to the believers is “the permanence (*baqā’*) with the Permanent One (*al-bāqī*) in His paradise (*ḡannah*).<sup>97</sup> Man will enter paradise “walking with joy” (43, 70) “at the delight of the vision (of God, *ladḍat an-nazar*), a recompense (*ḡazā*) for the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*). God bestows it upon them at the revelation of unveiling (*tagalli al-mukāṣafah*) for His friends (*auliyā*), which is permanence (*baqā’*) with the Permanent One (*al-bāqī*).<sup>98</sup> Tustarī also differentiates two aspects of paradise, the garden of bliss and the life

<sup>91</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 117.

<sup>92</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60.

<sup>93</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 13 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 41).

<sup>94</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 5).

<sup>95</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 101 (with reference to Qur’ān 59, 9); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 264 a/337 a; Baqli, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, II, 318.

<sup>96</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 128 (with reference to Qur’ān 104, 3).

<sup>97</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 98.

<sup>98</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 233 a/293 b; Baqli, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, II, 242.



with the Permanent One. For he says in explanation to the Qur'ānic invitation of God "enter thou My paradise" (89, 30): "paradise consists of two paradises (*ġannatān*); one of them is paradise itself, the other is life with Life Itself (*ḥayāt bi-ḥayāt*) and permanent subsistence with the Permanent Subsistence Itself (*baqā' bi-baqā'*)."<sup>99</sup> Finally in interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse "what is with God is better than diversion and merchandise" (62, 11) Tustarī says: "the abundant gifts (*ġazil al-'aṭāyā*) and the permanent delight (*al-laddah al-bāqiyah*) which are in store for you in the world to come (*āḥirah*) are better than whatever you are given in this world (*dunyā*)."<sup>100</sup>

### b) The Theophany of the Transcendent Reality

The term of *taḡallī* (theophany) is originally taken from the Qur'ānic event of God's self-manifestation before Moses in the crumbling mountain, which is referred to in the verse: "And when Moses came to Our appointed time (*mīqāt*) and his Lord spoke with him (*kallamahu rabbuhu*), he said, 'Oh my Lord, show me, that I may behold Thee!' Said He, 'Thou shalt not see Me; but behold the mountain (*ġabal*) – if it stays fast in its place, then thou shalt see Me.' And when his Lord revealed Him (*taḡallā rabbuhu*) to the mountain He made it crumble to dust; and Moses fell down swooning" (7, 143). But Tustarī does not find the Qur'ānic keynote for his mystical conception of *taḡallī* in this verse, because he views *taḡallī* as an event in the world to come.

Tustarī discovers a Qur'ānic reference for the theophany of the Transcendent Reality in the invitation addressed to the people of paradise: "Enter paradise (*ġannah*), you and your wives, walking with joy! There shall be passed around them platters of gold, and cups, therein being whatever the souls desire (*mā taṣṭahīhi al-anfus*), and the eyes delight in (*wa-taladdu al-a'yun*). And therein you shall dwell forever (*ḥalidūn*). This is the paradise (*ġannah*) that you have been given for an inheritance for the things you were doing" (43, 70–72). He says in explanation: "'Walking with joy' at the delight of the vision (*laddat an-naẓar*), as a recompense (*ġazā'*) for the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) which He bestows upon them (*manna 'alaihim*) at the revelation of unveiling (*taḡallī al-mukāṣafah*) for His friends (*auliyā'*), which is the permanent subsistence (*baqā'*) with the Permanent One (*al-bāqī*). Do you not consider how, in faith (*īmān*), He favoured them (*ḥaṣṣahum*) with the condition of submission (*taslīm*) to His

<sup>99</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 120f.

<sup>100</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 103; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 266 a/340b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 326.

Command (*amr*) and self-abandonment (*sukūn*) in His presence . . . 'whatever the souls desire' as reward (*ṭawāb*) for the (good) actions (*a'māl*). 'And the eyes delight in' the favour which God extended to them by strengthening (*tamkīn*) them at the moment of encounter (*waqt al-liqā'*), as a recompense for their profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) . . . Paradise (*ḡannah*) is the recompense for the actions of the body (*a'māl al-ḡawāriḥ*) and the encounter (*liqā'*) is the recompense for the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*). Do you not consider that God said, 'this is the paradise that you have been given for an inheritance for the things you were doing.'"<sup>101</sup>

The Qur'ānic promise that the people of paradise will remain unimpaired by the terrors of hell, "the greatest terror shall not grieve them" (21, 103) is also interpreted by Tustarī as entailing the manifestation of God which fills the eyes of the blessed with gladness. For in his commentary on this verse he depicts God as "the One who takes charge (*mutawallī*) of all of you with contentment (*riḍā*), the One who protects (*ḥāfiẓ*) your hearts (*qulūb*), and the One who fills your eyes with delight (*al-muqirr a'yunakum*) at the theophany (*taḡallī*) as a recompense (*ḡazā'*) for your profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and as a grace (*tafaḍḍul*) from your Lord (*rabb*)."<sup>102</sup>

The Qur'ān promises Muslims "slain in the way of God" (47, 4) immediate admission to paradise, for God "will guide them, and dispose their mind aright" (47, 5). Tustarī says in explanation: "'He will guide them', in their tombs to the answer of *Munkar* and *Nakīr* (the two angels of the dead). 'And dispose their minds aright': He will give to them (*yašra'u lahum*) immediate recompense (*ḡazā'*) in the heart (*qalb*) and (will reward them) in the world to come (*āḥirah*) with the delight of encounter (*ladḍat al-liqā'*) at the revelation of unveiling (*taḡallī al-mukāṣafah*), meeting (them) face to face (*kifāḥan*) and taking them as friends (*at-tawallī lahum*) at that (moment), as he said 'that is because God is the Protector (*maulā*) of the believers' (47, 11)."<sup>103</sup>

Tustarī's commentary to the Qur'ānic reference of God's punishment on the Day of Reckoning (*yaum al-ḥisāb*), "what?, when it has come to pass, will you then believe in it? Now, when already you seek to hasten it" (10, 51) determines the revelation of the divine decree as an event in the world to come when all mankind will profess God's Oneness. Tustarī has God declare: "You seek to hasten the denial (*ḡuhūd*) of Us and you remember other than Us. So when you come to Us and see with your (own)

<sup>101</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85f.; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 233 a/293b; 233 b/293b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 242.

<sup>102</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 83 (with reference to Qur'ān 41, 30).

<sup>103</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 88.

eyes Our punishment with which We threatened you, then you will believe at a time when it will not benefit you. For, in the world to come (*āḥirah*), there is no escape for all of creation (*ḥalq*) from the profession of God's Oneness (*al-iqrār bi't-tauḥīd*) at the revelation of the divine decree (*tagallī ḥukm ad-dāt*), at the downfall (*nuzūl*) of the adversaries (*aḍḍād*), the antagonists (*andād*), and the false claims (*da'āwā*) in their favour, because of the disappearance of doubt (*zawāl aš-šakk*) and the fear of punishment (*ḥauf al-'adāb*)."<sup>104</sup>

The collection of Tustarī's sayings entitled *Kalām Sahl*<sup>105</sup> and Kalābādī's *Ta'arruf* preserve a stenographic record of Tustarī's conception of *tagallī* which sums up his mystical ideas of theophanic revelation: "Sahl said, there are three modes (*aḥwāl*) of theophany (*tagallī*): theophany of the divine essence (*tagallī dāt*) which is unveiling (*mukāṣafah*), theophany of the divine attributes (*tagallī ṣifāt ad-dāt*) which is illumination (*mauḍī' an-nūr*), and theophany of the divine decree (*tagallī ḥukm ad-dāt*) which is life in the world to come (*al-āḥirah wa-mā fihā*)."<sup>106</sup>

Kalābādī's interpretation of this statement of Tustarī separates these three modes of theophany into three different kinds of divine manifestation. He equates *tagallī dāt* with either mystical revelations experienced by the heart of man in this world (*kuṣūf al-qalb fi'd-dunyā*) or with the visual beholdings of unveiling in the world to come (*kuṣūf al-'iyān fi'l-āḥirah*). He views *tagallī ṣifāt ad-dāt* as composed of revelation of divine omnipotence (*qudrah*) so that man fears none but God, and revelation of divine sufficiency (*kifāyah*) so that man hopes for none but God. Finally he sees *tagallī ḥukm ad-dāt* realized in the world to come by "a party in paradise (*fariq fi'l-ḡannah*) and a party in the Blaze (*fariq fi's-sa'ir*)" (42, 7).<sup>107</sup>

Along Kalābādī's analytical dissection of Tustarī's statement into three separate forms of divine manifestation, a somewhat synthetic interpretation can be advanced which seems closer to Tustarī's conception of *tagallī* in the *Tafsīr*. This synthetic view understands the three modes of theophany as one process of divine manifestation at the end of time which unfolds as "revelation of unveiling" and "revelation of the divine decree". Muḥammad's primordial adoration can be perceived as the precedent and prefiguration of the theophanic experience by the blessed of paradise in the

<sup>104</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>105</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 110b.

<sup>106</sup> Kalābādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq, *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. J. Arberry) Cairo 1934, p. 90; tr. A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Sūfis*, Cambridge 1935, p. 117.

<sup>107</sup> Kalābādī, *Ta'arruf*, 90f./117.

world of final consummation. During his primordial adoration, when Muḥammad stood before the selfsame Transcendent Reality (*al-ḥaqq*), the divine mystery (*mukāṣafat al-ḡaib*) was unveiled for Him. Muḥammad was given the strength of bearing the theophany (*taḡallī*) and the divine radiation (*al-anwār al-'aẓimah*), and thus was totally absorbed in the contemplation of His Lord (*muṣāḥadat ar-rabb*) and witnessed His attributes (*ṣifāt*). Thus Muḥammad's primordial adoration can be understood as essentially equal to the experience of the "revelation of unveiling."

In Tustarī's symbolism of light, the "theophany of the divine Essence" is the radiation of the Divine Being, in its Essence and attributes, who manifests Himself like the splendour of the sun when it emerges from the horizon, or the beauty of the bride when she unveils. The subject who is granted this experience of radiation and unveiling is immersed in the divine light which transfigures him. He absorbs the divine light and is transformed by its illumination, so that he reflects and radiates the light like the jewel or the mirror sparkling in the sunlight (theophany of the divine attributes).

The divine decree (*ḥukm*) represents the great master plan designed by God before creation, which determines each and every created being, foreordains the faith or unbelief of man and settles his ultimate destiny of paradise or hell. Beginning with the moment of creation and continuing until the point of annihilation of the phenomenal world, this "project of creation" becomes manifest in a series of instantaneous actions of God, put into effect by His creative will. Then in the world of post-existence the divine decree becomes manifest in its totality in the presence of God when the eyes of the blessed behold the divine decree in all its dimensions within the theophany of the divine light ("theophany of the divine decree").

### 3. Instantaneous Events and the World of Creation

In Tustarī's mystical perspective the course of man's existence is drawn out between two fundamental events antecedent and subsequent to his life in the world of creation. Man's existence in this world is suspended between the Day of Covenant and the Day of Resurrection. On his course from pre-existential infinity (*ibtidā'*) to post-existential infinity (*intihā'*) man passes through his phenomenal existence, marked by the moment of his creation and the instant of his death.

In his phenomenal existence man experiences God (*Allāh*) as Creator and Revealer. Both His act of creation and His act of revelation have their privileged peak in the creation of Adam, the Father of Mankind, and in the revelation to Muḥammad, the Arabian Prophet. But both acts are also

perceived as an ongoing process. This process is not a continuous flow of being but a series of instantaneous events of the divine decree (*ḥukm*), established in primordial ages, consummated in eschatological times, and articulated in discrete succession in the world of creation.

In the world of creation man stands under the impact of the divine decree which unfolds, as it were, as the indefinite reiteration of the divine *kun* (the creative command) and the divine *qul* (the revelatory command). Man, in his passage through phenomenal existence, thus falls under the reiterated intervention of divine providence (*tadbīr*) made explicit in the command (*amr*) and interdiction (*nahy*) of God, which is accompanied by divine guidance (*hidāyah*) made explicit in the help (*ma'ūnah*) and protection (*'iṣmah*) of God.

Tustarī solves the problem of the actions of man in the presence of the divine decree (*ḥukm*) by a series of notional pairs which center on the concurrence of the divine agency with man's activity. In presenting his view, Tustarī employs a dual pattern which gives equal stress to the positive and negative aspect of his ideas. We first present a summary of his ideas, then cite the most relevant sections of the *Tafsīr* on the problem, and finally add some observations.

God not only creates what is good (*ḥayr*), He also creates what is evil (*ṣarr*). Both good and evil are realities of God's decree, not ontological modes of being. For God lays down what is good through His Command (*amr*), and He sets down what is evil through His Interdiction (*nahy*). Man, on his part, has no autonomous, independent capacity of action; he has neither "power (*ḥawl*)" nor "strength (*quwwah*)" to act in accordance with God's Command and Interdiction. Yet he is bidden by God to conform to both of them, and in fact performs works of obedience (*tā'ah*) in conformity to the divine Command and commits works of disobedience (*ma'sīyah*) contrary to the divine Interdiction, whereas God recompenses his good deeds with eternal reward (*tawāb*) and keeps eternal punishment (*adāb*) in store for his evil deeds. In view of man's incapacity for autonomous action on the one hand, and his actual possibility of conformity to the decree of the Omnipotent on the other hand, Tustarī proposes a pair of notions, divine help (*ma'ūnah*) and divine protection (*'iṣmah*), in order to resolve the apparent antinomy which is created by the negation of man's autonomy and the simultaneous affirmation of God's omnipotence. Tustarī is not consistent in his terminology with regard to *ma'ūnah* and *'iṣmah* and replaces either each or both with terms related in connotation but different in denotation.

A series of crucial passages, culled from the *Tafsīr*, depict the doctrinal implications of Tustarī's solution to the problem. As part of a kind of credal

statement at the beginning of the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī states that God, prior to the creation of man, possesses complete knowledge of man and his actions (*faraḡa min 'ilm 'ibādihi wa-mā ya'malūna*). God neither forces man to a work of disobedience (*ma'sīyah*), nor coerces him to a work of obedience (*tā'ah*), nor neglects him in His forethought (*tadbīr*). It is completely up to God's will whether man shall believe in or deny the divine foreordination (*qadar*). For human beings have no autonomous capacity of action: "They have no power (*ḥawl*) and strength (*quwwah*) of their own except insofar as God's knowledge concerning them anticipated (*illā bi-mā sabaqa 'ilmuhu fihim*) that (their action) would come from God (though executed) through man and by man (*annahu sayakūnu minhu bihim wa-lahum*)." Both good (*ḥair*) and evil (*šarr*) originate from God: "The good from God is Command (*amr*) and includes on His part patronage (*walāyah*). The evil from God is interdiction (*nahy*) and includes on His part divine protection (*'iṣmah*)."<sup>108</sup>

As part of his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, 30, 40 Tustarī says: "God created (*ḥalaqa*) what is good (*ḥair*) and what is evil (*šarr*). He laid down (*waḍa'a*) the Command (*amr*) and the Interdiction (*nahy*). He made us servants (*ista'badanā*) through what is good (*ḥair*) and connected it with the (divine) assistance (*taufīq*). He forbade us what is evil (*šarr*) and connected its perpetration (*irtikāb*) with the abandonment of (divine) protection (*tark al-'iṣmah*) and forsaking (*ḥidlān*) . . . Whoever is (divinely) assisted to do what is good is bound to thanksgiving (*šukr*). Whoever is left abandoned with what is evil is bound to repentance (*taubah*) and the seeking of God's succour (*al-istiḡāṭah bi-llāh*)."<sup>109</sup>

Tustarī explains the theologoumenon, "there is neither power (*ḥawl*) nor strength (*quwwah*) save with God", as meaning, "we have no power (*ḥawl*) over being unimpaired (*salāmah*) by ignorance (*ḡahl*) in principle (*aṣl*) and by obduracy (*iṣrār*) in derivation (*far'*) save by Your protection (*'iṣmah*); and we have no strength (*quwwah*) over performing that which You commanded us in principle (*aṣl*) and over being unimpaired by it in derivation (*far'*) and the praised outcome (*ḥātimah*) save by Your help (*ma'ūnah*)."<sup>110</sup>

In his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse 73, 9 Tustarī states that God promised "help (*ma'ūnah*) for the Command (*amr*), protection (*'iṣmah*) with regard to the Interdiction (*nahy*), assistance (*taufīq*) for thanksgiving (*šukr*), perseverance (*ṣabr*) in the tribulation (*balwā*) and the praised out-

<sup>108</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>109</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 73.

<sup>110</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59 (with reference to Qur'an 18, 39).

come (*hātimah*).<sup>111</sup> Whereas the preceding statement depicts the various facets of God's guidance (*hidāyah*) the following statement, which is part of Tustarī's commentary on the Qur'ānic verse 4, 88, emphasizes its obverse, namely God's leading astray (*idlāl*). Tustarī says: "God's leading astray (*idlāl*) is the abandonment of (divine) protection (*tark al-'iṣmah*) in what He prohibited (*mā nahā 'anhū*) and the abandonment of help (*tark al-ma'ūnah*) in what He commanded (*mā amara bihi*)."<sup>112</sup>

Tustarī's explanation to the Qur'ānic phrase, "God knows what is in your hearts (*anfus*)" (2, 235) includes the following two statements: "He (God) knows what is in the Unseen (*ḡaib*) of your hearts (before) He created it for you, such as an action (*fi'l*) of motion (*ḥarakah*) or rest (*sukūn*) in doing the good (*ḥair*) which He commanded (*amara bihi*) and helped (*a'āna*) to be put into action, and such as an action (*fi'l*) of what He prohibited (*mā nahā 'anhū*) and did not prevent (*lam ya'ṣim*) from happening . . . He (God) is the One who takes in charge (*yatawallā*) the Command (*amr*) by (divine) help (*ma'ūnah*) and assistance (*taufīq*) for a work of obedience (*tā'ah*), and who prevents (*ya'ṣimu*) the (violation of His) Interdiction (*nahy*) by (divine) help (*naṣr*) and support (*ta'yīd*)."<sup>113</sup>

A saying of Tustarī, integrated into the Qur'ānic commentary on the verse 2, 214, reads: "Tribulation (*balā'*) and well-being (*āfiyyah*) come from God; Command (*amr*) and Interdiction (*nahy*) come from Him; protection (*iṣmah*) and assistance (*taufīq*) come from Him; reward (*tawāb*) and punishment (*ʿaqāb*) come from Him; but the actions (*a'māl*) are attributed to man (*banī Ādam*). Whoever performs (*ʿamala*) what is good (*ḥair*) is bound to thanksgiving (*ṣukr*) so that he may thereby deserve augmentation (*mazīd*). Whoever commits (*ʿamala*) what is evil (*ṣarr*) is bound to asking (God's) forgiveness (*istiḡfār*) so that he may thereby deserve pardon (*ḡufrān*)."<sup>114</sup>

Tustarī says in explanation to the Qur'ānic verse 21, 35: "The evil (*ṣarr*) is the following of the (lower) self (*nafs*) and the passion (*hawā*) without guidance (*hudā*). The good (*ḥair*) is the divine protection (*iṣmah*) from sin (*ma'ṣiyah*) and the divine help (*ma'ūnah*) to obedience (*tā'ah*)."<sup>115</sup> Muḥammad's rhetorical question in the Qur'ān with regard to God's mercy upon himself (39, 38) is rephrased by Tustarī to read: "If God takes away from me the (divine) protection (*iṣmah*) against works of opposition

<sup>111</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 111.

<sup>112</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 31.

<sup>113</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 16.

<sup>114</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17.

<sup>115</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 63.

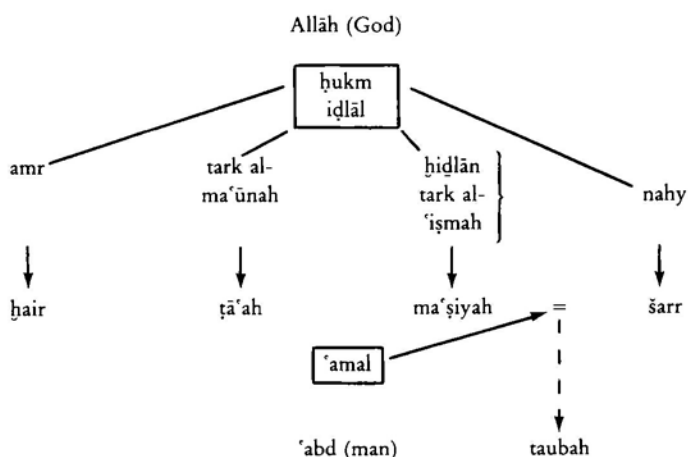
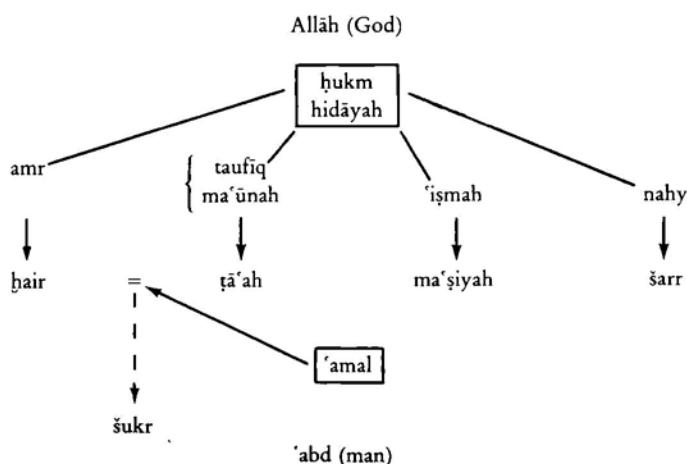
(*muḥālafāt*) or the (divine) help (*ma'ūnah*) to works of conformity (*muwāfaqāt*), shall someone be capable of bringing them to me?"<sup>116</sup>

A definite pattern of Tustarī's understanding of *ma'ūnah* and *'iṣmah* emerges from the preceding references found in his *Tafsīr*. God's Command (*amr*) is accompanied by an act of divine help (*ma'ūnah*), whereas His Interdiction (*nahy*) is accompanied by an act of divine protection (*'iṣmah*). Through His *ma'ūnah* the divine agency concurs with man's activity in producing works of obedience (*ṭā'ah*), namely works of conformity (*muwāfaqāt*) to the divine Command (*amr*). Through His *'iṣmah* the divine agency concurs with the human agency in preventing the occurrence of works of disobedience (*ma'ṣiyah*), namely works of opposition (*muḥālafāt*) to the divine Interdiction (*nahy*). Tustarī is strictly consistent in his co-ordination of *ma'ūnah* with *amr* and *ṭā'ah* and of *'iṣmah* with *nahy* and *ma'ṣiyah*. In his perspective, *ma'ūnah* and *'iṣmah* seem to be the particular articulations of the divine guidance (*hidāyah*) which God grants to man in order to have him perform what is good (*ḥayr*) and in order to prevent him from committing that which is evil (*ṣarr*). *Tark al-ma'ūnah* (abandonment of divine help) and *tark al-'iṣmah* (abandonment of divine protection) on the other hand are the peculiar expressions of God's leading astray (*idlāl*) which takes effect as soon as man abandons the divine Command and Interdiction. The terminological inconsistencies in Tustarī's thought stem from the introduction of the notions of *taufīq* (divine assistance) and *ḥidlān* (divine forsaking) which at times are identified with the pair of *hidāyah* and *idlāl*, but at other points are taken separately, to make *taufīq* coincide with *ma'ūnah*, and *ḥidlān* with *tark al-'iṣmah*. Another terminological inconsistency is caused by the equation of *walāyah* (divine patronage) with *ma'ūnah*. The matter can be clarified by a chart (see overleaf: the first part denoting the event of a work of obedience, *ṭā'ah*; the second part denoting the event of a work of disobedience, *ma'ṣiyah*).

When man performs an action in conformity to the divine Command and Interdiction, he is granted the divine succour of God's help (*ma'ūnah*) and assistance (*taufīq*) and is bound to an act of thanksgiving (*ṣukr*). Should he commit an action in opposition to the divine Command and Interdiction, man places himself outside the divine custody and thus is deserted by God who withdraws His protection (*'iṣmah*) and forsakes man (*ḥidlān*). The way by which man must return to God's custody is that of repentance (*taūbah*). Thus it is man's duty to turn to God with thanksgiving (*ṣukr*) when he performs a good deed (*ḥasanah*) and to seek God's succour through repentance (*taūbah*) when he commits an evil deed (*sayyi'ah*).

<sup>116</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 80.





Through the perpetration of evil, namely of works of disobedience, man is no longer in harmony with the divine Command and Interdiction, and automatically, as it were, falls outside the scope of divine succour and custody. This is so because man abandons the divine forethought (*tadbīr Allāh*), God's providence, and follows the planning of his own self (*tadbīr an-nafs*). But whether man conforms to or opposes the divine Command and Interdiction, in each case the action comes from God (*minhu*) although it is executed through man and by man (*bi-him wa-lahum*). The divine agency puts every action in effect; man's activity only contributes to its

execution. Thus there is no strict concurrence of the divine agency with the human agency (as in the concurrence of the principal and instrumental cause) but the divine agency is the true cause of human action, whereas man's activity represents the occasion at which the divine agency causes the effect.

Tustarī's attempt to resolve the central problem of Muslim theology concerning the interrelation between God's omnipotence and man's responsibility for his actions, through a view which sets God's *amr* and *nahy* parallel to God's *ma'ūnah* and *iṣmah* (and thus has divine grace work simultaneous with God's decree), entails significant consequences for his understanding of God's knowledge and will. Since man's action is caused by the divine agency, God has to possess knowledge of it prior to its occurrence. Thus Tustarī's conception of God's knowledge concentrates on the idea of the divine foreknowledge (*'ilm Allāh as-sābiq*). In the *Tafsīr* there are only a few references to God's knowledge as such (*'ilm Allāh*), but a variety of sporadic references to God's foreknowledge. However, all these references are nothing but adumbrations which do not reach a level of sufficient clarity of thought.

In His divine foreknowledge, God perceives man prior to his phenomenal existence and anticipates his actions prior to their occurrence. He knows from eternity whatever will happen in the world of creation; nothing will occur which is not antecedently known by God. Even the action of the disobedient creature (Tustarī cites Iblīs, Ādam, and Dā'ūd as precedents of disobedience) is encompassed by the divine foreknowledge.

God's knowledge (*'ilm Allāh*) belongs to the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of His Essence (*dāt*).<sup>117</sup> God is All-knowing (*'alīm*); He comprises (*aḥāṭa*) everything (*kull ṣai*) in His knowledge.<sup>118</sup> God creates by His knowledge (*'ilm*), thus knowing "that which comes into being prior to its existention (*qabla kaunihi*)"<sup>119</sup> and adorns all created beings with His knowledge (*'ilm*).<sup>120</sup> His knowledge is embodied in the Qur'ān in which is God's knowledge (*'ilm Allāh*).<sup>121</sup>

With regard to man God's knowledge is "divine foreknowledge (*'ilm Allāh as-sābiq*)"<sup>122</sup> which "no one comprehends save God (*lā yaqifū 'alaihi aḥad illa Allāh*)."<sup>123</sup> This divine foreknowledge is symbolically described as

<sup>117</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 2).

<sup>118</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 73).

<sup>119</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 18).

<sup>120</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 52 (with reference to Qur'ān 14, 19).

<sup>121</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 27 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 113).

<sup>122</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 87 (with reference to Qur'ān 45, 23).

<sup>123</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59 (with reference to Qur'ān 18, 39).

the heavenly Writ of the archetypal Qur'ān, "a perfect Book (*kitāb muḥkam*) in a guarded tablet (*lawḥ mahfūz*)" that exists before the creation of man.<sup>124</sup>

In His foreknowledge God knows the created beings (*ḥalq*) "in principle (*aṣl*) and derivation (*far'*)."<sup>125</sup> "He possesses complete knowledge of His servants and their actions before He creates them (*faraḡa min 'ilm 'ibādihi wa-mā ya'malūna qabla an ḥalaqahum*)."<sup>126</sup> God's knowledge concerning man and his actions is antecedent (*sābiq*) to the existence of man and the occurrence of his action, so that man's capacity of action is restricted to the range anticipated by God's foreknowledge concerning man (*bi-mā sabaqa 'ilmuhu fihim*).<sup>127</sup>

Thus Tustarī interprets "the leave of God (*idn Allāh*)" (2, 102) as meaning "the foreknowledge of God (*'ilm Allāh as-sābiq*) concerning an action (*fih*) prior to the occurrence (*wuqū'*) of that action (*fī'l*) by the (human) agent (*fā'il*)."<sup>128</sup> Each of man's actions (*a'māl*) is known (*ma'rūf*) and charged to man's account (*muḥṣā 'alaikum*) "in His divine foreknowledge (*fī 'ilmih*) as-sābiq."<sup>129</sup> This divine foreknowledge is unchangeable, for Tustarī says of the Qur'ānic verse "the Word is not changed with Me" (50, 29): "What is anticipated in My knowledge (*mā sabaqa fī-'ilmī*) is not changed with Me (*'indī*) so that it would become contrary to what the (divine) knowledge has foreordained concerning it (*mā sabaqa al-'ilm fih*)."<sup>130</sup>

In His divine foreknowledge God singled out man as pre-existential entities, as Tustarī says, "through His light (*nūr*) by which He set them (namely man) apart (*afraḍahum*) in His foreknowledge (*fī-sābiq 'ilmih*)."<sup>131</sup> God's foreknowledge comprises the beginning of man, the course of his life, and the point of his death. Thus Tustarī interprets the divine name "the Compassionate" (*ar-rahīm*) as "the One who is favourably disposed towards His servants (*'ibād*), with provision (*rizq*) in derivation (*far'*) and with the beginning (*ibtidā'*) in principle (*aṣl*) as a mercy (*rahmah*) because of His eternal foreknowledge (*li-sābiq 'ilmih al-qadīm*)."<sup>132</sup> He interprets the Qur'ānic phrase "save him upon whom

<sup>124</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2 (with reference to Qur'ān 85, 22).

<sup>125</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 73 (with reference to Qur'ān 30, 4).

<sup>126</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2.

<sup>127</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 2; 7 (with reference to Qur'ān 1, 1).

<sup>128</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 13.

<sup>129</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 107 (with reference to Qur'ān 69, 18).

<sup>130</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 93; Sulamī, *Ḥaqqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 246 a/310 a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 273.

<sup>131</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 5).

<sup>132</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 7 (with reference to the *Basmalah*).

God has mercy" (44, 42) as "(save him) of whom God knows in His foreknowledge (*fi-sābiq 'ilmihī*) that he is deceased."<sup>133</sup> God's foreknowledge about the point of death also applies to a whole "nation that has passed away" (2, 134 = 2, 141), for Tustarī explains, "a community that has passed away because of God's foreknowledge (*sābiq 'ilm Allāh*) concerning them."<sup>134</sup>

God is antecedently aware of man's sinful actions, as explained by Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic phrase of "those who wax proud" and follow "the way of error" (7, 146) which he understands as referring to God's foreknowledge (*sābiq 'ilmihī*) that entails His act of forsaking man (*hidlān*) when he takes the way of error.<sup>135</sup>

God also knew in advance about Ādam's sin in paradise.<sup>136</sup> By his temptation of Adam, Satan unwittingly cooperated in the perfect execution of God's foreknowledge (*sābiq 'ilm Allāh*).<sup>137</sup> The refusal of Iblīs to obey God's command and his persistence in this refusal was anticipated by the divine foreknowledge.<sup>138</sup> God also had "divine foreknowledge in invisible mystery (*ḡaib mastūr*)" about Dā'ūd's sin,<sup>139</sup> and Dā'ūd realized what God's knowledge had antecedently known concerning him.<sup>140</sup>

God's foreknowledge remains concealed for man in the world of creation. Lacking any autonomous capacity of action, man has to rely passively and trustingly on the foreknowledge and forethought of divine Providence. But he always lives in fear of God, uncertain about his future, insecure whether it is God's will to put man to the test or to catch him in a trap. This state of man's insecurity before God, which has him suspended between fear of God (*ḥauf*) and hope in God (*raḡā'*), confronts man with the inscrutable divine decree, included in God's foreknowledge and forethought. Because of the inscrutability of God's decree man is not secure from the "devising of God (*makr Allāh*)" and lives in fear of it.<sup>141</sup>

Man imagines himself to be capable of rejoining God by his own forces; he fancies himself to be able to make his deeds correspond to his thoughts, and he believes himself to be securely harboured in God's providence. But God puts man to the test (*ibtilā'*) by luring him into the belief of his own

<sup>133</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 86.

<sup>134</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 14.

<sup>135</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 39 (with reference to Qur'ān 7, 146).

<sup>136</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 30).

<sup>137</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 11 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 30).

<sup>138</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 29 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 160).

<sup>139</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 28 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 155).

<sup>140</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 41).

<sup>141</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 16 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 214); *Tafsīr*, 74 (with reference to Qur'ān 31, 34).

autonomy of action and his security in the presence of God. This is one of God's machinations, an act of trickery and devising (*maker*), of ruse and scheming (*istidrāḡ*). The attitude of double dealing on the part of God towards man is motivated by God's inscrutable decree to attract man totally to Himself and to lead him to the ultimate destiny which He holds in store for him from eternity.

Tustarī takes the Qur'ānic phrase, "and fear you Me" (2, 41) as a key reference to "the seat (*mauḏī*) of God's foreknowledge concerning man (*'ilmihī as-sābiq fihim*)" and interprets it as a divine admonition to man that he may not feel secure from the machinations of God: "Do not feel secure from (God's) devising (*maker*) and scheming (*istidrāḡ*)."<sup>142</sup>

Two passages of the *Tafsīr* in particular outline Tustarī's basic conception of "the devising of God (*maker Allāh*).<sup>143</sup> In explaining the Qur'ānic verse, "do they feel secure against God's devising (*maker Allāh*)?" (7, 99), he states: "The devising (*maker*) is attributed (*muḏāf*) to His (God's) forethought (*tadbīr*) in His foreknowledge (*fī sābiq 'ilmihī*) of His omnipotence (*qudrah*). No one ought to feel secure from His devising, because feeling secure from the devising (*amn al-maker*) does not set aside the divine omnipotence (*qudrah*). No one falls outside God's omnipotence (*qudrat Allāh*) and no one is free from fear (*ḥauf*) although he may have reached any (high) state (*ḥāl*)."<sup>143</sup>

Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic verse, "say, none knows the Unseen (*ḡaib*) in the heavens and earth except God" (27, 65) as meaning: "He (God) concealed His mystery (*ḡaib*) from the creatures (*mahlūqīn*) in His (realm of) omnipotence (*ḡabarūt*) and He did not make it known to anyone lest any of His servants (*'abīd*) feel secure from His devising (*maker*). For no one knows what is foreordained (*sabaqa*) from Him. Thus man is concerned about the obscurity (*ibhām*) of the eschatological outcome (*'awāqib*) and the course of foreordainment (*sawābiq*)."<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 10b/12 a.

<sup>143</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 39; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 265.

<sup>144</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 71; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 176b/226 a.

## Chapter V

### Mystic Man and His Grasp of Infinity

The preceding chapter demonstrates Tustarī's conception of God in His events antecedent and subsequent to man's existence in the world of creation, and refers to some of Tustarī's theological reflections concerning God's providential action towards His creature in this world. The imagery, in which Tustarī depicts the world of pre-existence and post-existence, is presented in the symbolism of light. In the imagery of light Tustarī perceives God as the ultimate destiny of man in Whose theophanic light man will be absorbed in his post-existential eternity, just as he issued from God in pre-existential eternity as an infinitely small particle of the primal, translucent shaft of divine light. God, both inaccessible and manifest as light, is experienced by Tustarī in three basic facets of His manifestation: 1. as Lord (*rabb*) of the Covenant in the primordial event of His evident oneness and lordship; 2. as God (*Allāh*) of creation and scriptural revelation in His forethought and foreknowledge; and 3. as the Transcendent Reality (*ḥaqq*) of the theophany in the world to come when He receives man in eternal encounter and face to face revelation.

This experience of God in the symbolism of light is realized in Tustarī's mystical awareness. In his phenomenal existence, mystic man re-actualizes his pre-existential past and anticipates his post-existential future, since he penetrates to his inmost being where he grasps his One Lord as the secret of his soul (*sirr an-nafs*) and perceives the Transcendent as the certitude (*yaqīn*) of his ultimate destiny. At the peak of his experience, mystic man, who perceives himself on the course from pre-existential to post-existential infinity, penetrates to the immediate and certain grasp of infinity, enshrined in his heart as a remembrance of primal being and as a yearning for life to come.

#### 1. The Secret of the Soul

The conception of "the secret of the soul (*sirr an-nafs*)" is a characteristic contribution of Tustarī to the Šūfī range of ideas. It perceives *nafs* (the human soul) in its positive aspect as the divine spark of light enshrined in

man and as the core of human consciousness where man penetrates to the inner nucleus of his self in the presence of God and enters into colloquy with Him. This conception of the *nafs* stands in sharp contrast to the negative aspect of the *nafs* which Tustarī frequently emphasizes in the *Tafsīr*. In its negative aspect the *nafs* is perceived as the principle of man's spontaneous self-assertion, namely as the seat of his "a-theistic" self-centredness, egoistic tendencies, and evil inclinations. Since the idea of the *nafs* as the sum total of the lower forces of the soul forms part of Tustarī's conception of man's psyche, it will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Tustarī's theme of "the secret of the soul" views the soul of man as having been created by God as the locus of intimate colloquy between God and man. The concentrated introspection of man, however, grasps this colloquy as man's listening to God's soliloquy by virtue of the secret of his soul through which he realizes God's lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) within himself. This self-realization of man is understood by Tustarī as a re-actualization of the primordial perfection, possessed by man on the Day of Covenant in pre-existence, when mankind, in the form of particles of light, professed God's lordship and oneness (*al-iqrār bi'r-rubūbiyyah; al-iqrār bi't-tauhīd*).

The re-actualization of man's primordial state in God's presence represents the peak of mystical introspection and Šūfī recollection (*dīkr*), and is the mystic's gnosis par excellence (*ma'rifah*). Thus Tustarī's conception of "the secret of the soul" constitutes the link between his mystical conception of primordial events and the central notions of Šūfī attainment as grasped in his own mystical experience.

In explaining the theme of "the secret of the soul" Tustarī is inspired by certain verses of the Qur'ān (2, 30; 5, 116; 7, 116; 7, 172; 10, 90; 17, 107; 67, 14; 70, 32; 79, 24) as well as by the figure of the Qur'ānic Pharaoh (*Fir'aun*) and the Qur'ānic Jesus (*ʿĪsā b Maryam*). He also operates with the etymological association of *sirr* (secret) and *sārra* (to converse in secret), of *rabb* (Lord) and *rubūbiyyah* (lordship), and perhaps also with the wordplay of *balā* (yes) and *ibtilā'* (tribulation). The crucial references to this topic in the *Tafsīr* are supported by parallel passages in the classical Šūfī primary sources.

Tustarī's theme of "the secret of the soul" can be understood as involving four component features: 1. the creation of the *nafs* as the locus of intimate colloquy between God and man; 2. the revelation of the *sirr an-nafs* as God's self-revelatory soliloquy, manifesting Him as Lord (*rabb*); 3. the full realization of the *sirr an-nafs*, to be kept secret by mystic man, as a re-actualization of the primordial covenant which neutralizes the mission of the prophets (*nubuwwah*); and 4. the implicit transfiguration

of the total living reality of mystic man through the divine presence in the secret of the soul.

#### a) The Creation of the Soul as the Locus of Intimate Colloquy Between God and Man

In his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, "I am setting in the earth a viceroy (*ḥalīfah*)" (2, 30), Tustarī expounds his doctrine of the creation of man. After announcing to the angels (*malā'ikah*) His design of man's creation, God created Adam "from the clay of Might (*ṭīn al-'izzah*) originated in the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*)"<sup>1</sup> and instructed Adam that He was setting him in the earth as successor to the angels (*fi'l-arḍ ḥalīfah*). Then, so Tustarī continues, God instructed the father of the human race about the double nature of the human soul (*nafs*). On the one hand she is the hostile principle in man that habitually incites to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*), but on the other hand she is the locus of intimate colloquy between God and man. For it was God's purpose in the creation of the soul of man that "He created her in order to converse with her in secret about him (*li-yusārrahā 'alaihi*) concerning thoughts (*ḥawāṭir*) and inner drives (*himam*) which He perceives in her (*bi-ma'lūmihi fihā*), and that he (man) converses with Him in secret (*yusārrahu*) by being in need of God (*iftiqār*) and seeking refuge to Him (*lağā'*)."<sup>2</sup>

This passage from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* clearly demonstrates the divine purpose in the creation of the *nafs* as locus of colloquy between God and man, expressed by the reciprocal usage of the imperfect of the verb *sārra*. In his *Luma'*, Sarrağ emphasizes the mutuality of the colloquy between God and man and gives an example of the content of this secret conversation when he quotes Tustarī as having said: "God created the creatures (*ḥalq*) in order to converse with them in secret and they with Him (*li-yusārrahum wa-yusārrūhu*). God said, I created you so that you converse with Me in secret (*li-tusārrūnī*). If you do not so, then speak to Me (*kallimūnī*) and talk to Me (*ḥaddithūnī*). If you do not so, then address Me in secret (*nāğūnī*). If you do not so, then listen to Me (*isma'ū minnī*)."<sup>3</sup>

In a somewhat different form the same passage is quoted in Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* on the authority of 'Alī b Aḥmad b Nūḥ Al-Ahwāzī: "I heard Sahl b 'Abd Allāh say, God created the creatures (*ḥalq*)

<sup>1</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, Cairo 1329/1911, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Sarrağ, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī, *Al-Luma' fi't-taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. Nicholson), Leiden 1914; cf. p. 349.



in order to converse with them in secret (*li-yusārrahum*). The creatures converse in secret (*yusārrū*) . . . For if you do not so, then address Me in secret (*nāḡūnī*) and talk to Me (*ḥaddiṭūnī*). If you do not so, then look at Me (*unzurū ilayya*). If you do not so, then be at My door (*kūnū bi-bābī*) and raise your needs (*irfa'ū ḥawā'igakum*). For I am the Most Noble Giver (*akram al-akramīn*)."<sup>4</sup> Quṣairī also quotes a fragment of Tustarī's statement: "God created the creatures (*ḥalq*) and said, address Me in secret (*nāḡūnī*). If you do not so, then look at Me (*unzurūnī*). If you do not so, then listen to Me (*isma'ū minnī*). If you do not so, then be at my door (*kūnū bi-bābī*). If you do not so, then lodge your needs with Me (*anzilū ḥāḡātakum bī*)."<sup>5</sup>

Another example of the intimate colloquy between God and man marks the shift from a prayer dialogue in which man talks and listens to God, to a divine allocution in which man listens passively to God, the sole speaker. Tustarī is cited with the statement: "There is no day on which the Exalted (glory be to Him) does not call out, 'O My servant ('*abdī*), you do not serve Me in justice.' I remember you and you forget Me; I call you to Me and you go to someone other than Me; I take from you the affliction and you give yourself up to sin. Oh son of Adam, what will you say tomorrow when you come to Me?"<sup>6</sup> These and other examples cited in the *Tafsīr* illustrate Tustarī's conception of the Ṣūfī prayer practice of *munāḡāt* ("confidential talk") which has its precedent in the prayer of the Qur'ānic prophets Mūsā (Moses) and Dā'ūd (David).<sup>7</sup>

The *nafs* as the locus of intimate colloquy between God and man is understood by Tustarī as the secret of God (*sirr Allāh*) entrusted to man since the Day of Covenant in pre-existence. The crucial proof for the link of the soul as locus of colloquy and as God's secret enshrined in man since primordial times is found in Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse, "and who preserve their trusts (*amānāt*) and their covenant ('*ahd*)" (70, 32). In his commentary on this verse Tustarī says: "Its hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) is the trust of the soul (*amānat an-nafs*), because she is the secret of God (*sirr Allāh*) left with His servants ('*inda 'ibādihī*). He (God) converses with them in secret (*yusārruhum*) concerning thoughts (*ḥawāṭir*) and inner drives (*himam*) which He perceives (*bi-ma'lūmihī*) in her. They converse

<sup>4</sup> Abū Nu'aim, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliya' wa-tabaqāt al-asfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1357/1938; cf. X, 200 (the text seems to be slightly corrupted).

<sup>5</sup> Quṣairī, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Al-Karīm, *Risālah fī 'ilm at-taṣawwuf (Ar-Risālah al-Quṣairiyyah)*, Cairo 1385/1966; cf. p. 526 cf. also Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 7 and Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'* X, 196.

<sup>6</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 469.

<sup>7</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 23; 47; 54; 61; 105 (Mūsā); and 9; 28; 35; 52; 53; 107; 117 (Dā'ūd).

with Him in secret (*yusārrūnahu*) by being in need (of God) and seeking refuge in Him (*bi'l-iftiqār wa'l-lağā' ilaihi*). When the heart (*qalb*) is inclined towards the occurrence of the slightest whispering of the enemy (*sakana ilā mā ḥaṭara 'alaihi min waswasat al-'adūw bi-adnā šai'*) this becomes manifest to the breast (*ṣadr*), and from the breast to the body (*ğasad*). Then he (man) has committed a breach of the trust of God (*amānat Allāh*), His covenant (*'ahd*) and the faith (*īmān*)."<sup>8</sup> If the phrase concerning the disapproval of man's attention to inimical forces within his soul is disregarded in the present context, then the passage, along with its Qur'ānic keynote, depicts the soul of man as a divine treasure entrusted to man at the primordial covenant and, at the same time, as the inmost secret of man where God enters into colloquy with His creature.

The Qur'ānic Jesus, the prophet 'Īsā b Maryam, attains to the awareness of this sacred trust "deposited" within man as the secret of his soul. But 'Īsā remains incapable of discerning the mystery which is hidden in the duality of God and man as realized in the secret of the soul. He does not transcend (does not achieve the "ascent" from) the level of colloquy between the human "I" and the divine "Thou", although he perceives the human ego and the divine Ego (*nafs*) as adjacent realities within the secret trust of his inmost being. Tustarī finds the Qur'ānic keynote for this conception in the verse: "And when God said, O Jesus son of Mary, didst thou say unto men, 'Take me and my mother as gods, apart from God'? He said, To Thee be glory (*subḥānaka*)! It is not mine to say what I have no right to. If I indeed said it, Thou knowest it. Thou knowest what is within my soul (*mā fī nafsi*), and I know not what is within Thy soul (*mā fī nafsika*); Thou knowest the things unseen (*anta 'allām al-ğuyūb*)."<sup>9</sup> (5, 116).

Tustarī understands the words with which 'Īsā addresses God, "Thou knowest what is within my soul, and I know not what is within Thy soul", as the keynote and interprets them as meaning: "You know my secret (*sirr*), my thought (*ḥāṭir*) and my planning (*tadbīr*), but I do not know what is in Your soul (*nafs*); that is to say, I do not know Your mystery (*ğāib*) included in Your question (*su'āl*) in spite of Your knowledge (*'ilm*) of it. It conceivably means, You know what is in my human soul (*nafsi al-bašariyyah*), but I do not know what is in Your soul (*nafs*) which is deposited (*mustauda'ah*) in my secret (*sirr*), because Your secret is between You and her. No one 'ascends' to it without You (*dūnaka*)."<sup>9</sup>

Baqī's parallel passage also emphasizes this secret trust "deposited" in the inmost being of the Qur'ānic Jesus who, although aware of the existence

<sup>8</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 110.

<sup>9</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 34.

of this secret, does not attain the disclosure of its deepest dimension. Baqli says: "Thou knowest what is within my soul (*fī nafsi*): what You have deposited (*anda'tahu*) in my soul of that which is not disclosed to me (*lā tuzhiruhu 'alayya*); and I know not what is in Your Mystery (kept in store) for me (*fī ḡaibika lī*)."<sup>10</sup>

#### b) The Revelation of the Secret of the Soul as the Seat of God's Self-revelatory Soliloquy Within Man

Although the Qur'ānic Jesus attains to the awareness of the secret of the soul, he does not realize the full extent of its intrinsic nature. Two marginal figures of Biblical literature, Fir'aun (the Qur'ānic Pharaoh) and Bal'ām b Bā'ūrā' (the Qur'ānic Balaam) also represent prototypes of spiritual men who fail to reach the full awareness of man's inmost secret. Whereas Bal'ām is cited by Tustarī as the prototype of a man who, led astray by his passion and lust, denies the signs of God and thus falls short of achieving the necessary spiritual elevation offered to him by God, Fir'aun is quoted as the prototype of a man who, in his claim to divinity, gives expression to the secret of the soul, but confuses the human ego with the divine, and thus fails to realize the faith in God to which he is summoned by the prophetic speech and symbolic actions of Mūsā (Moses). Since the jottings in the *Tafsīr* make it impossible to separate the references to the secret of the soul with regard to Fir'aun and Bal'ām, the relevant passage of the *Tafsīr* and its parallels in major Ṣūfī primary sources have first to be quoted "en bloc" and then to be analyzed in detail.

Tustarī understands the Qur'ānic verse, "And had We willed, We would have raised him up thereby; but he inclined towards the earth and followed his lust" (7, 176) as a reference to Bal'ām b Bā'ūrā' who "turned to following his passion (*hawā*). God gave the members (of the body) a share in the passion, allotting to each member its portion (*ḥaqq*). When one of the bodily members inclines towards the passion, then its damage (*ḍarar*) reverts to the heart (*qalb*). Know that the soul (*nafs*) has a secret (*sirr*). That secret did not become manifest (*ḡahara 'alā*) to any of His creatures (*ḥalq*) save to Fir'aun when he said, 'I am your Lord, the Most High (*ana rabbukum al-a'lā*)' (79, 24).

To the question, 'How are we secure from the passion?' he (Tustarī) replied, one who applies his soul (*nafs*) to proper conduct (*adab*) is secure from passion. For one who subdues (*ḡahara*) his soul with proper conduct

<sup>10</sup> Baqli, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī'n-Naṣr Aṣ-Ṣirāzī, 'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān, 2 vols., Cawnpore 1301 A. H.; cf. I, 197.

serves ('*abada*) God with purity of intention (*ihlās*). He (Tustarī) said, the soul (*nafs*) has seven celestial veils (*ḥuḡub samāwiyyah*) and seven terrestrial veils (*ḥuḡub arḍiyyah*). Whenever man ('*abd*) buries his soul (*nafs*) in earth upon earth (*arḍan arḍan*), his heart (*qalb*) is raised up heaven upon heaven (*samā'an samā'an*). And when he buries the soul under the ground (*taḥta at-tarā*), the heart reaches the throne ('*arṣ*')."<sup>11</sup> At another point in the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī is quoted as saying: "The veil (*ḥiḡāb*) will not be lifted from man ('*abd*) until he buries his soul (*nafs*) in the ground (*tarā*)."<sup>12</sup>

At three points in the *Luma'* Sarrāḡ quotes fragments parallel to the passage of the *Tafsīr*: "Sahl b 'Abd Allāh being asked about the secret of the soul (*sirr an-nafs*) said, the soul has a secret (*sirr*); that secret did not become manifest to any of His creatures save to Fir'aun when he said, 'I am your Lord, the Most High' (79, 24). The soul has seven celestial veils and seven terrestrial veils. Whenever man buries his soul in earth upon earth, his heart is raised up heaven upon heaven. And when you bury the soul under the ground you reach to the throne with your heart."<sup>13</sup>

"Sahl b 'Abd Allāh said, the soul has a secret (*sirr*); God (*al-ḥaqq*), the Most High, did not propagate it save by the tongue of Fir'aun when he said, 'I am your Lord, the Most High' (79, 24)."<sup>14</sup>

"Sahl said, if you bury your soul (*nafs*) under the ground (*taḥta at-tarā*), your heart reaches above the throne (*fauqa al-'arṣ*)."<sup>15</sup>

The same passage is quoted with slight variations by Abū Nu'aim on the authority of the chain of transmitters, Sulamī—Ibn Šādān Ar-Rāzī—Ibn Sālim. It reads: "Sahl b 'Abd Allāh being asked about the secret of the soul said, the soul (*nafs*) has a secret (*sirr*); that secret did not become manifest to any of His creatures save to Fir'aun when he said, 'I am your Lord, the Most High' (79, 24). The soul has seven celestial veils and seven terrestrial veils. Whenever man buries his soul in an earth, his heart is raised up a heaven. And when the soul is buried under the ground, the heart reaches to the throne."<sup>16</sup>

With the exception of one word, Kāšānī and Baqlī quote the identical passage: "Sahl b 'Abd Allāh said, the soul has a secret; that secret did not become manifest to any of His creatures save to Fir'aun when he said, 'I am your Lord, the most High' (79, 24). The soul has seven celestial veils and seven terrestrial veils. Whenever man buries his soul in earth upon

<sup>11</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 41.

<sup>12</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59 (with reference to Qur'ān 18, 39).

<sup>13</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 227.

<sup>14</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 354.

<sup>15</sup> Sarrāḡ, *Luma'*, 358.

<sup>16</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 208.

earth, his heart is raised up heaven upon heaven. And when the soul is buried under the ground, the heart reaches to the throne.”<sup>17</sup>

According to the image of Fir’aun, which emerges from Tustarī’s *Tafsīr*, Fir’aun appropriates to himself the divine prerogatives of power (*ḥawl*) and strength (*quwwah*), raises the claim to autonomous capacity of action (*istiṭā’ah*), and refuses to renounce the self-centeredness of his soul. Summoned by Moses to the faith in God and His signs, he brushes aside Moses’s prophetic authority and makes his readiness to faith dependent on his own will.<sup>18</sup> This refusal of Fir’aun notwithstanding, Tustarī considers the summons to faith as merely a kind invitation on the part of Moses which does not imply God’s intention of granting the act of faith to Fir’aun.<sup>19</sup> However, when in the face of punishment and death, Fir’aun voices the desire of faith, he is not accepted by God, as expressed in the Qur’ānic words addressed to Fir’aun: “Now? and before thou didst rebel!” (10, 91). Fir’aun’s confession of faith at the point of death, “I believe that there is no god but He in whom the children of Israel believe” (10, 90) was thus of no avail for him since, as Tustarī is quoted in Dailamī’s *‘Atf al-alif*, “God did not establish for him a share (*nawāl*) in the mine of the heart of his prophet Moses (*fī ma’dini qalbi nabīyihī Mūsā*).”<sup>20</sup>

Bal’ām on the other hand deviates from the purpose of his creation by giving himself up to the lower forces of passion in his soul. He does not seize the possibility of spiritual ascent offered to him by God and instead of having his heart pass beyond the heavenly veils to God’s throne, remains absorbed in the lust of his lower soul (*nafs*). Thus Bal’ām represents the prototype of the complete failure of mystic man, and does not grasp the realization of the secret of the soul implicit in God’s invitation to spiritual elevation.

Although Fir’aun does not achieve true faith and dies in unbelief despite his confession of faith, he implicitly gives expression to the apex of mystic awareness, “the secret of the soul”, by proclaiming, “I am your Lord, the Most High”. This Qur’ānic proclamation of *ana rabbukum al-a’lā*, on the part of Fir’aun’s consciousness and intention, denotes the identification of his own human ego (*ana*) with God, the Lord Most High (*rabb*). Since Fir’aun confuses the human ego with the divine he does not penetrate to the full extent of the reality of the *sirr an-nafs*. This secret, enshrined in his

<sup>17</sup> Baqlī, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, I, 192; Kāshānī, ‘Izz Ad-Dīn Maḥmūd, *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāyah wa-miftāḥ al-kifāyah*, Tehrān 1325 s/1946; p. 84.

<sup>18</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur’ān 10, 91).

<sup>19</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 62 (with reference to Qur’ān 20, 44).

<sup>20</sup> Dailamī, Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b Muḥammad, *Kitāb ‘Atf al-alif al-ma’lūf ‘ala’l-lām al-ma’tūf* (ed. J. C. Vadet), Cairo 1962 p. 34.

soul, overwhelmed Fir'aun and was made manifest to him (*ṣahara 'alā* justifies both renderings), yet he did not realize that the "I am your Lord Most High", which he spoke, was giving witness to the manifestation of God's lordship within his inmost being, for he made the rebellious claim to divine prerogatives and wrongfully applied the divine lordship to his own self, his own *nafs*. However unwittingly, and beyond the level of his consciousness and intention, Fir'aun's tongue revealed the true mystic reality of the secret of the soul, by proclaiming *ana rabbukum al-a'lā*.

The mystic, in Tustarī's view, rediscovers the true reality of the secret of the soul in Fir'aun's proclamation and realizes it in his inmost being as a re-actualization of his pristine perfection when, in the state of light-particles, the human race professed God's lordship on the Day of Covenant. This re-actualization of primordial perfection is achieved by the mystic through a process of spiritual elevation, namely through a gradual ascent of his heart to God's throne, the symbol of His lordship (*rubūbiyyah*). In this ascent man gradually discards the terrestrial veils of his soul, which represent the share of passion affecting the seven bodily organs, and finally eliminates the self-centeredness and self-consciousness of his own soul (*nafs*), burying it in the ground as it were. This process of self-purification is gratified by a simultaneous gradual elevation of the heart (*qalb*) which pierces the seven celestial veils and brings man into ever greater nearness to God's presence, until it abides in the divine consciousness, focused on God's throne above the heavens.

The spiritual penetration of the mystic to the consciousness of the divine Reality within his inmost being is no longer realized as an intimate colloquy between God and man but as God's self-revelatory soliloquy which makes Him manifest as the Lord (*rabb*). This soliloquy of *ana rabbukum al-a'lā* (I am your Lord Most High) in the secret of man's soul re-enacts the moment of God's primordial manifestation on the Day of Covenant, included in the question addressed to mankind *a-lastu bi-rabbikum* (Am I not your Lord). On the Day of Covenant man professed God's lordship (*al-iqrār bi'r-rubūbiyyah*); in the mystical experience of God's soliloquy within the secret of his soul man reactualizes God's lordship (*sirr ar-rubūbiyyah*).

On the Day of primordial Covenant the human race gave witness to God's sovereignty (His Oneness and Lordship) by its affirmative testimony of "yes, we testify (*balā šahidnā*)" (7, 172). The same Day meant the inauguration of prophethood, for the prophets received the particular task of reminding mankind of their primordial profession of God's lordship. As a consequence, firstly, man's primal confession of God's lordship constituted his first act of gnosis (*ma'rifah*) which is re-enacted by the

mystical experience of the secret of the soul; and secondly, the task of prophethood is repealed and its purpose neutralized, the moment mystic man achieves this experience and thus no longer is in need of being reminded of God's *rubūbiyyah*. Whereas scattered jottings in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and some stray references in the collective manuscript *Köpr* 727 roughly outline Tustarī's view of gnosis (*ma'rifah*), a celebrated and frequently cited saying of Tustarī pronounces the eventuality of the cancellation of prophethood.

### c) The Realization of the Secret of the Soul by Mystic Man

The sporadic references, which can be culled from ms. *Köpr* 727, represent *ma'rifah* as man's primordial gnosis of God's lordship on the Day of Covenant in pre-existence. This gnosis (*ma'rifah*) is not only an act of intuitive perception and mystical knowledge, but also the recognition and confession on the part of man of his fundamental state as a creature before God's sovereignty. On the Day of primordial Covenant (*mītāq*) the human race professed God's lordship: "They turned to Him and looked at Him (*iltafatū ilaihi wa-nazarū*) and then answered with yes (*balā*)"<sup>21</sup> and experienced the original gnosis, namely "the gnosis of (divine) lordship (*ma'rifat ar-rubūbiyyah*)."<sup>22</sup> Thus "the primordial gnosis (*al-ma'rifah al-qadimah*) is the lock of the heart (*qūfl al-qalb*) . . . and its key is the profession of lordship (*al-iqrār bi'r-rubūbiyyah*)."<sup>23</sup> Ṣaḡalī, the commentator of ms. *Köpr* 727, explains Tustarī's saying, "the beginning of things is gnosis (*ma'rifah*)" as referring to "the covenant (*mītāq*) which God took from His creatures (*ḥalq*) when they were like atoms (*ḍarr*)",<sup>24</sup> and connects it with the Qur'ānic verse 7, 172. Ṣaḡalī also comments on the fundamental gnosis (*ma'rifah*) underlying human capacity (*istiṭā'ah*) as "the gnosis (*ma'rifah*) by which the (divine) lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) is established, because God said, 'Am I not your Lord?, and they said yes' (7, 172)."<sup>25</sup>

In the *Tafsīr* Tustarī depicts God, "the Protector (*walī*) of the believers" (2, 257) as "the One who takes charge and care of them (*al-mutawallī lahum*) by foreordaining for them (*bi-mā sabaqa lahum*) His guidance (*hidāyah*) and His gnosis (*ma'rifah*), recognizing their profession of His Oneness (*īyyāhum 'alā tauḥīdihī*)."<sup>26</sup> He also interprets the Qur'ānic

<sup>21</sup> Tustarī, Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. *Köpr* 727, f. 68a.

<sup>22</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. *Köpr* 727, f. 71b.

<sup>23</sup> Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. *Köpr* 727, f. 55b.

<sup>24</sup> Ṣaḡalī, *Aṣ-Ṣarḥ wa'l-bayān*, ms. *Köpr* 727, f. 154b.

<sup>25</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. *Köpr* 727, f. 210b.

<sup>26</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17.

keynote, “so fear you Me, men possessed of minds (*wa’ttaqūnī yā-ūlī’l-albāb*)” (2, 197) as referring to “men possessed of understanding about Me (*ahl al-fuhūm ‘annī*) with flawless intellects (*al-‘uqūl as-salimah*)”, and explains: “God commanded them to fear Him to the extent of the capacities of their intellects (*‘alā miqdār ṭāqāt ‘uqūlihīm*) by virtue of certain favours which He bestowed upon them (*ḥaṣṣahum*), such as the light of guidance (*nūr al-hidāyah*) by His very Being (*bi-dātihi*) and (their) receptivity for it (*al-qabūl minhu*), and (such as His act of) singularizing (*ifrād*) them by something (*ma’nā*), which He deposited (*rakkaba*) in them, and (His act of) knowing them prior to their creation (*ḥalq*). He recalled to them this blessing (*ni’mah*) upon them and, by this blessing which they were given antecedently (*sabaqat lahum*), summoned them to the recognition (*i’tirāf*) of a second blessing (*ni’mah*), subsequent to the primordial gift (*al-mauhibah al-azaliyyah*), which is the reality of gnosis (*ḥaqīqat al-ma’rifah*) and the receptivity of knowledge (*‘ilm*) through actions performed (*‘amal*) with purity of intention before Him (*ḥālīṣan lahu*).”<sup>27</sup> Gnosis and obedience are the inner secret and the outward display (“the eye”) of God’s mercy for men of faith. Thus Tustarī interprets “a twofold portion (*kiflāin*) of His mercy (*rahmah*)” (57, 28) which God will give to the believers as “the secret of mercy (*sirr ar-rahmah*) and the eye of mercy (*‘ain ar-rahmah*). The secret is the secret of gnosis (*sirr al-ma’rifah*) and the eye is the eye of obedience (*‘ain aṭ-ṭā’ah*) to God and His Prophet.”<sup>28</sup>

In his pristine perfection man exists in the form of a particle of light as an atom (*darr*), endowed with intellect (*‘aql*). By virtue of this blessing (*ni’mah*) and primordial gift (*mauhibah*) of the intellect, man is capable of the act of gnosis (*ma’rifah*), which “cognizes” and recognizes the divine lordship (*rubūbiyyah*). In the world of phenomenal existence, the world of God’s mercy (*rahmah*), this primordial gift unfolds as the experience of the reality of gnosis (*ḥaqīqat al-ma’rifah*) and as knowledge verified by actions of pure intention (*qabūl al-‘ilm bi’l-‘amal*), or in other words, as the inner secret of gnosis (*sirr al-ma’rifah*) and as its outward manifestation of works of obedience (*‘ain aṭ-ṭā’ah*).

Man’s intuitive perception and express recognition of God’s lordship is included in his testimony “yes, we testify (*balā šahidnā*)” (7, 172). This testimony conceals the profession of God’s lordship which man carries in his inmost being as the secret of his soul. This secret (*sirr*) has to be kept secret by mystic man and cannot be revealed by his tongue; otherwise it

<sup>27</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 100; Sulamī, Abū ‘Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, ms. *Fātiḥ* 262, f. 261b; ms. *Br. Mus. Or.* 9433, f. 334a; Baqlī, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, II, 312.



would lose its character of man's testimony to the oneness and lordship of the Omnipotent, and would make manifest the order of His creative command (and would, as may perhaps be inferred, precipitate the revelation of the divine decree). For Tustarī says in the *Tafsīr* with reference to the secret (of the soul?, *sirr*): "No secret (*sirr*) is disclosed (*lam yuḡṣaf*) to the creatures (*ḥalq*). If it were disclosed for them (*lau kuṣifa lahum*) they would see (*abṣarū*) but not witness (*lam yuṣāhidū*). If they witnessed it with their eyes (*in ṣāhadū*), the divine Command (*amr*) would be consummated – and this is a great thing."<sup>29</sup>

The frequently quoted saying of the secret of lordship (*sirr ar-rubūbiyyah*) is attributed to Tustarī by Ǧazzālī and Ibn Al-ʿArabī, but ascribed to the Sālimiyyah by Ibn Al-Farrāʾ and Ǧilānī, and cited anonymously by Makkī, Baqlī and Šaʿrānī. It reads in its oldest extant form in Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*: "The divine lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) has a secret (*sirr*); if it became manifest (*zahara*) prophethood (*nubuwwah*) would become vain (*baṭala*). Prophethood has a secret; if it were disclosed (*kuṣifa*), knowledge (*ʿilm*) would become vain. Those possessed of knowledge of God (*al-ʿulamāʾ bi-llāh*) have a secret; if God were to make it manifest, the precepts (of religion, *aḥkām*) would become vain."<sup>30</sup> Baqlī (once) and Ǧazzālī (twice) copy the same saying with slight variations.<sup>31</sup>

The same saying as quoted by Ǧilānī, following Ibn Al-Farrāʾ, includes a major variation, for Ǧilānī records the Sālimiyyah with the statement: "God has a secret (*sirr*); if He were to make it manifest, the (divine) forethought (*tadbīr*) would become vain. The prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) have a secret; if He were to make it manifest, prophethood would become vain. Those possessed of knowledge have a secret; if He were to make it manifest, knowledge would become vain."<sup>32</sup> Ibn Al-ʿArabī cites Tustarī's saying in two forms, one of them close to its original form, the other transformed by his own mystical views: "The (divine) lordship has a secret; if it became manifest, knowledge would become vain. Knowledge has a secret; if it became manifest, prophethood would become vain. Prophethood has a secret; if it became manifest, the precepts (of religion) would become

<sup>29</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 50f. (with reference to Qurʾān 12, 108).

<sup>30</sup> Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, *Qūt al-qulūb fī muʾāmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf tariq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932; cf. III, 133.

<sup>31</sup> Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr, *Šarḥ-i ṣaṭḥiyāt* (ed. H. Corbin), Tehrān/Paris 1966, p. 374f.; Ǧazzālī, Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn*, 4 vols., Cairo 1358/1939; cf. I, 105f. and *Imlāʾ* (in the margin), I, 199.

<sup>32</sup> Ǧilānī, ʿAbd Al-Qādir, *Al-Ġunyah li-ṭālibi tariq al-ḥaqq*, 2 vols., Cairo 1322, cf. I, 106; L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, p. 40f.

vain.”<sup>33</sup> “The (divine) lordship has a secret – and this is you (*anta*); it is addressed to every essence (*‘ain*) –, if it ceased to be, lordship would become vain.”<sup>34</sup> Finally, Ša’rānī quotes the saying in a largely revised form as based on the interpretation of Abu’l-Mawāhib Muḥammad Aš-Šādīlī (d. 882/1477): “The (divine) lordship has a secret; if it became manifest, the light of religious law (*šarī‘ah*) would become vain (*‘aṭala*).”<sup>35</sup>

In the perspective of the secret of the soul, the basic tenor of Tustarī’s saying could be interpreted as follows. Man’s soul (*nafs*) as the core of human consciousness is created by God as the locus of intimate colloquy between God and man and enshrines the secret of God’s self-revelatory soliloquy which manifests Him as the One Lord in man’s inmost being. Man recognizes in God’s soliloquy (*ana rabbukum al-a’lā*) the re-enacting of the primordial covenant, when he professed God’s lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) by bearing witness to God’s manifestation (*a-lastu bi-rabbikum*). On the same Day of the primordial covenant the prophets were given the mission to remind mankind of their primal profession. This purpose of prophethood, however, would be neutralized, if the self-revelatory soliloquy of God, which is hidden as a secret in man’s inmost being, would be divulged in plain daylight, as it were, for it would upset the divinely provided order of the world (*tadbīr*) and completely invalidate prophethood (*nubuwwah*), knowledge (*‘ilm*), and the precepts of religion (*aḥkām*), since it, “in nucleo”, comprises the ultimate sum-total of man’s existence and mystic experience. God, at one point in the Qur’ān, revealed this inmost secret of man to Fir’aun, though Fir’aun was unable to penetrate to the full extent of the reality of the *sirr an-nafs* which he proclaimed with his tongue. Mystic man, in mystical introspection, re-actualizes this secret as the secret of divine lordship (*sirr ar-rubūbiyyah*) enshrined in his inmost being since the Day of Covenant. He realizes it as his self-identity which is the font of his existence since it was communicated to him, when he was in the state of a particle of light which participated in the light-nature of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) that issued from divine Light Itself. This seems to lead to the inevitable conclusion that, at the peak of his experience, mystic man overtakes the purpose of prophethood and is dispensed from being reminded of God’s lordship, although at the outset of his experience he is essentially indebted to prophethood which provokes his awareness of God’s lordship within himself.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn ‘Arabī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Muḥyi Ad-Dīn, *Al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyyah*, 4 vols., Cairo 1329 A. H., cf. II, 631.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn ‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, II, 631; *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, (ed. A. A. ‘Afifi), Beyrouth 1365/1946; p. 90f.

<sup>35</sup> Ša’rānī, ‘Abd Al-Wahhāb, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, *Lawāiqh al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-aḥyār*, 2 vols., Cairo s. d.; cf. II, 62.

## d) The Secret Transfiguration of the Soul of Mystic Man

Tustarī's interpretation of the intimate colloquy between the Qur'ānic Jesus and God (5, 116) considers the secret (*sirr*) of his soul as a divine "deposit" (*mustauda'ah*) in man's soul (*nafs*). His commentary on the Qur'ānic keynote of *amānah*, "trust" (70, 32), views it as the secret of God (*sirr Allāh*) enshrined in the inmost being of man since the primordial covenant. Fir'aun's proclamation of the secret of the soul leads mystic man to the reactualization of the primal profession of God's lordship and to the realization of his pristine perfection as a particle of divine light. Tustarī's view of the mystical transfiguration of man's inmost being denotes the way in which this reactualization influences the total, living reality of man. By means of one of his preferred exegetical patterns, that of type and counter-type, Tustarī demonstrates the secret transformation of mystic man through the secret of the soul, which the countertype of the "hypocrite (*munāfiq*)" fails to accomplish.

In his commentary on a section of the Qur'ānic verse 4, 142 Tustarī shows how the divine agency, entrusted to the inmost being of man, permeates man in the totality of his organs. The hypocrites (in contrast to mystic man) are not true to this "trust" (*amānah*), but betray it by their treachery (*hiyānah*). Thus Tustarī comments on the verse, "when they stand up to pray they stand up lazily" (4, 142): "This is a sign (*alāmah*) of the hypocrites (*munāfiqīn*) when they are treacherous to this trust (*amānah*) which they carry at outward display (*fi'z-zāhir*). Know that God has a trust (deposited) in your hearing (*sam'*), your sight (*baṣar*), your tongue (*lisān*), your private parts (*farḡ*), and in your outward (*zāhir*) and inward being (*bāṭin*). He put it before you; if you do not guard it, you are treacherous; but God does not love those who are treacherous (*hā'inīn*)."<sup>36</sup>

A parallel to the preceding passage is linked with the testimony of the Qur'ānic Jesus concerning his own soul (5, 110). For, in this fragment of commentary, Tustarī remarks with regard to the secret of the soul: "It is the eye (*ʿayn*) by which you see the truth (*ḥaqq*), the ear (*uḍun*) by which you hear the truth, and the tongue (*lisān*) by which you proclaim the truth. The proof (*dalīl*) for it lies in God's word to the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), 'deaf, dumb, blind' (2, 171; cf. 2, 18) because they do not have these 'deposits' (*mustauda'āt*)."<sup>37</sup>

The secret of man's soul (*sirr*) is sustained and inspired by man's listening to the recitation of the Qur'ān (*samā' al-Qur'ān*). The auditive experience of the Qur'ān being recited is transposed to the total, living

<sup>36</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 32; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 34 a/42 b.

<sup>37</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 34.

reality of man – his heart (*qalb*) and his bodily organs (*ḡawāriḥ*) – so that man's heart experiences illumination and the body begins to radiate its beauty. This is the gist of Tustarī's commentary on the verse: "Those who were given the knowledge (*ilm*) before it (scil. the Qur'ān), when it is recited to them, fall down upon their faces prostrating" (17, 107). He says, "nothing has as deep an influence on the inmost being (*sirr*) like the listening to Qur'ānic recital (*samā' al-Qur'ān*). For when man (*'abd*) listens (*samī'a*), his inmost being (*sirr*) becomes humble. This illuminates (*anāra*) his heart (*qalb*) with true proofs (*barāḥin*) and adorns his bodily organs (*ḡawāriḥ*) with self-abasement (*tadallul*) and obedience (*inqiyād*)."<sup>38</sup>

The divine presence which man re-actualizes and realizes in his inmost being transforms the organs of his total, living perception. The *Tafsīr*, however, does not provide any proof in favour of the identification of the divinely transfigured organs of man's total, living perception with the seven celestial veils (*ḥuḡub samāwiyyah*) pierced by man's heart in its ascent to God's throne.

The commentary on the verse "and We created above you seven ways (*ṭarā'iq*)" (23, 17), the only passage in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* to identify seven veils (*al-ḥuḡub as-sab'ah*), enumerates them in the following order: intellect (*'aql*); knowledge (*'ilm*); heart (*qalb*); sense-perception (*ḥiss*); carnal soul (*nafs*); express will (*irādah*) and will (*maṣī'ah*).<sup>39</sup> Other stray references in the *Tafsīr* with regard to the idea and notion of a veil (*ḥiḡāb*) remain too fragmentary to prove a solid basis for inferences, though Tustarī seems to perceive the veils of the heart as analogous to the veils surrounding God's throne.

The secret (*sirr*) of the soul hidden in man's inmost core (*lubb*) unfurls as a plurality of secrets (*asrār*) and, from its origin in pre-existence, determines whether man will realize it by professing God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) or denying it (*ḡuhūd*). Thus Tustarī illustrates the character of the secret enshrined in the core of man's heart by his commentary on the Qur'ānic passage: "Surely those who fear their Lord (*rabb*) in the Unseen (*ḡaib*) – there awaits them forgiveness and a great wage. Be secret (*asirrū*) in your speech, or proclaim it, He knows the thoughts within the breasts (*ṣudūr*). Shall He not know, who created? And He is the All-subtle (*laṭīf*), the All-aware (*ḥabīr*)" (67, 12–14). Tustarī interprets this passage by the fragments of a running commentary: "Those who fear their Lord (*rabb*) in their inmost being (*sirr*) and guard their inmost being against anyone else

<sup>38</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 58; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 123 b/158 b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 570.

<sup>39</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 67; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 154 a/– (anonymously quoted!); Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 69 (anonymously quoted).

(than God, *ḡair*) . . . 'Shall He not know' – He who created the heart (*qalb*) –, what He deposited in it (*bi-mā auda'ahu*): the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and its denial (*ḡuḥūd*). 'He is the All-subtle' through His knowledge (*'ilm*) of the secrets (*asrār*) which are hidden (*maknūnah*) in the core of the hearts (*lubb al-qulūb*); as the Prophet said, to God's knowledge (*'ilm*) belongs a secret which is hidden (*sirr maknūn*) in the hearts (*qulūb*). 'He is the All-aware' – He fully knows you by what is hidden in you (*fī-ḡaibika*)."<sup>40</sup>

In his post-existential existence man will achieve the full fruition of the secret of his soul, when he will live in the eternal presence of God like a secret in perpetual encounter with the Secret Itself. The reference of the Qur'ān, that one who seeks "the Face of his Lord Most High" (*waḡh rabbihi al-a'lā*) "shall surely be satisfied" (92, 21), is interpreted by Tustarī as a reference to the final transfiguration of the total, living reality of man. In the world to come mystic man shall be satisfied "by that which he will obtain in Our presence (*mā lahu 'indanā*), namely the place of grace (*maḥall al-faḍl*), not the place of reward (*maḥall at-tawāb*), being (with God as) a secret with Secret Itself (*sirran bi-sirrin*), a life with Life Itself (*ḥayātan bi-ḥayātin*) and an eternity with Eternity Itself (*azaliyyatan bi-azaliyyatin*)."<sup>41</sup> Mystic man will enjoy his final state in the world to come among "the companions of the right hand" (90, 18) when he will be with God as "a life with Life Itself (*ḥayātan bi-ḥayātin*), an eternity with Eternity Itself (*azaliyyatan bi-azaliyyatin*), and a secret with Secret Itself (*sirran bi-sirrin*)."<sup>42</sup>

The secret of man's soul is animated by the listening to Qur'ānic recitation (*samā' al-Qur'ān*) and thus becomes a living reality (*ḥayāt*) within man. It does not derive the force of its animation from the mere act of listening, but from the remembrance of God (*ḍikr*) which is induced in man's soul by the auditive experience. For Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic verse, "save those that believe, and do righteous deeds, and remember God oft (*ḍakarū Allāh katīran*)" (26, 227) as meaning: "God created the secret (*sirr*, the inmost being) and made its life (*ḥayāt*) consist in His remembrance (*ḍikr*). God created the outward being (*ẓāhir*) and made its life consist in His praise (*ḥamd*) and thanksgiving (*ṣukr*); and He appointed for both of them duties (*ḥuqūq*) which are works of obedience (*ṭā'ah*)."<sup>43</sup>

The remembrance of God, which constitutes the vital force of man's inmost being, is depicted by Tustarī in an original way. It is not merely

<sup>40</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 106; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 270 b/347 a.

<sup>41</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122.

<sup>42</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 121.

<sup>43</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 70; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 175 a/224 b.

understood as a prayer formula, nor as an ecstatic utterance, nor as a reflection about the existence of God, nor as a state of permanent rapture, but it is conceived by Tustarī as a state of mind which totally centers mystic man on God.

## 2. Recollection, Commemoration and Remembrance of God

The act of remembrance of God (*dīkr*) represents a principal practice of mystic man which achieves the actual realization of God's presence within his inmost being. As an act of a predominantly cognitive rather than volitional nature, *dīkr* reflects man's concentrated and introverted consciousness of the divine presence within his inmost core. As an act of remembrance, *dīkr* recalls the memory of the divine presence (recollection of God), and re-enacts the awareness of the divine immanence (commemoration of God) within man. It is not only a reminiscence of the divine agency in man's heart, but also a reminder of the actual presence of God treasured in the soul of man.

"When thou hast tried other than Me (*ġairī*)  
thou wilt remember Me (*satadkurunī*),  
and thou wilt know (*ta'lamu*)  
that I have been a treasure (*kanz*) for thee."<sup>44</sup>

This hemistich, in the metre *wāfir*, expresses the gist of Tustarī's mystical view concerning the recollection, commemoration and remembrance of God: the heart's treasured memory and awareness of God alone to the exclusion of any other and all else.

The stenographic recordings in the *Tafsīr* concerning Tustarī's view of *dīkr* can best be grouped together in the perspective of three themes: 1. Man's recollection of God (*dīkr*) rests on the knowledge of his state (*'ilm al-ḥāl*) before God, his Witness (*šāhid*), who takes care of him (*qā'im 'alaihi*) in any instant of his existence. 2. The commemoration of God (*dīkr*) is the spiritual sustenance (*rizq, qūt*) of man, just as the celestial celebration of God's commemoration (*tasbīḥ*) on the part of the angels represents their spiritual mode of being (*'aiš al-malā'ikah*) in the presence of God. 3. At the peak of man's mystical awareness, the remembrance of God (*dīkr*) is experienced as an act of God who brings about the recollection of Himself within the mystic (*ad-dīkr bi'l-madkūr*).

Man's fundamental condition before God is that of a servant (*'abd*) before his Lord. Man becomes aware of this existential situation by an act

<sup>44</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 290a/378a.

of the recollection of God (*dīkr*), which actualizes God's presence in any instant of his life. Tustarī describes this basic awareness on the part of man as *'ilm al-ḥāl*, man's knowledge of his state before God, in which man views God as taking care of him in protection of his whole being and providing for all his needs. When this state of man is not only known but inwardly perceived, it becomes *taḥqīq al-'ilm*, the deep-felt realization of the knowledge that God is witness (*šāhid*) to any of man's thoughts, words, and deeds, and that He is closer to man's inner core (*aqrab ila'l-qalb*) than his very self. Passages in the *Tafsīr* and in Šūfī primary sources document this aspect of Tustarī's notion of *dīkr*.

Tustarī interprets the prophetic tradition, "the search of knowledge (*ṭalab al-'ilm*) is a religious duty (*farīdah*) incumbent upon every Muslim", as a reference to "the knowledge of the state (*'ilm al-ḥāl*)" and says: "From the point of view of the inward meaning (*bāṭin*) it is purity of intention (*iḥlās*), from the point of view of the outward meaning (*zāhir*) it is following the Prophet's example (*iqtidā'*). For one, whose outward being (*zāhir*) is not the guide (*imām*) of his inward being (*bāṭin*) and whose inward being is not the perfection (*kamāl*) of his outward being, is in discomfort (*ta'ab*) of the body (*badan*). Being asked to explain this, he replied: that you know that God is taking care of you (*qā'im 'alaika*) in your inmost being (*sirr*) and your outward being (*'alāniyyah*), in your motion (*ḥarakah*) and your rest (*sukūn*). You are not concealed from God for the twinkling of an eye (*ṭarfata 'ain*). He attends to you (*fāriḡ laka*) as if He had no other creature (*ḥalq*) but you. Neither a single breath (*nafas*) of your soul (*nafs*) escapes Him, nor a single glance (*ṭarfah*) of your eye, nor a single concern (*ḥamm*) of your concerns. Not the least bit of an atom's weight (*ḍarrah*) of your motion and your rest slips His mind (reference is to Qur'ān 13, 33; 20, 7; 2, 235; 58, 7)."<sup>45</sup>

Tustarī understands the Qur'ānic verse "We are nearer to him than the jugular vein (*ḥabl al-warīd*)" (50, 16) as referring to the vein (*'irq*) which is in the depth of the heart (*ḡauf al-qalb*) and interprets it as meaning that "He (God) is nearer to the heart (*qalb*) than that vein. Thus when you know this, you ought to be abashed before Him. When something is stirred up in the heart (*qalb*) of which the self (*nafs*) desires a part, but then man (*'abd*) remembers (*dakara*) God's taking care of him (*qiyām Allāh 'alaihi*) and abandons (that thing), then the knowledge of his state (*'ilm ḥālihi*) enters his heart (*qalb*) . . . When you speak, speech (*kalām*) is your state; when you are silent, silence (*sukūt*) is your state; when you stand, standing (*qiyām*) is your state; and when you sit, sitting (*qu'ūd*) is your state. The

<sup>45</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, I, 191; *'Ilm al-qulūb*, 81f.; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 45.

knowledge of it is that you perceive whether this state is (oriented) towards God or to someone other (than God). If it is (oriented) towards God then you find a firm position in it. If it is (oriented) towards another then you abandon it.”<sup>46</sup>

The fundamental awareness of man’s “knowledge of his state” that God is taking care of him, is derived from Tustarī’s interpretation of the Qur’ānic phrase, “the Living, the Everlasting (*al-ḥayy al-qayyūm*)” (2, 255). Tustarī explains this attribute of God as meaning: “He who takes care of His creation of everything (*al-qā’im ‘alā ḥalqihi kulla šai’*) with their moments of death (*āḡāl*), their actions (*a’māl*), and their provisions (*arzāq*), He who rewards (*al-muḡāzī*) good deeds (*ḥasanāt*) with beneficence (*iḥsān*), evil deeds (*sayyi’āt*) with forgiveness (*ḡufrān*), and unbelief (*kufr*), hypocrisy (*nifāq*) and innovation (*bid’ah*) with punishment (*‘adāb*).”<sup>47</sup> Tustarī’s remarks to the Qur’ānic verses 59, 7 and 99, 8 confirm this statement. “The knowledge (*‘ilm*) which includes the attainment of the spirit (*ittiṣāl ar-rūḥ*) is the knowledge (*‘ilm*) of God’s taking care of man (*qiyām Allāh ‘alaihi*).”<sup>48</sup> “He (man) knows that he is a servant (*‘abd*) and that his Master (*maulā*) is aware of his state (*‘ālim bi-ḥālihi*), witnessing (*šāhid*), powerful (*qādir*) over his happiness (*farah*) and distress (*tarah*), compassionate towards him (*raḥīm bihi*).”<sup>49</sup>

Two passages in the *Tafsīr* apply this awareness of God’s taking care of man in all his states to the recollection of God (*dīkr*) and recall Tustarī’s initiation into Sūfī prayer practice by his uncle Muḥammad b Sawwār. For, upon Tustarī’s question, “how shall I remember him (God, *kaifa adḡuruhu*)?”, the uncle replied, “when you change into your bedclothes, say three times in your heart (*bi-qalbika*) without moving your tongue (*lisān*): God is my witness (*Allāh šāhidī*).”<sup>50</sup> Thus in his commentary on the Qur’ānic verse “remember thy Lord in thy soul, humbly and fearfully” (7, 205), Tustarī explains: “The reality of recollection (*ḥaqīqat ad-dīkr*) is the realization of the knowledge (*taḥqīq al-‘ilm*) that God is your witness (*mušāhid*). You see Him with your heart (*qalb*) as (being) near to you and you are abashed before Him. Thereupon you prefer Him to your own self (*nafs*) in all your states (*aḥwāl*).”<sup>51</sup> He comments on the Qur’ānic phrase, “men and women who remember God oft” (33, 35) by saying: “one who remembers (*dākir*) in reality (*ḥaqīqah*) is one who knows that God is his

<sup>46</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17.

<sup>48</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 101.

<sup>49</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126.

<sup>50</sup> Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 84.

<sup>51</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 42; Sarraḡ, *Luma’*, 219; Abū Nu’aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya*, X, 210.



witness (*mušāhid*), so he sees Him with his heart (*qalb*) as near to him and is abashed before Him. Thereupon he prefers Him to his own self (*nafs*) and to anything that pertains to his states (*aḥwāl*).<sup>52</sup>

Tustarī also reinterprets the verse “and surely he is a witness (*šāhid*) against that” (100, 7) as meaning, “God is a witness (*šāhid*) for his (man’s) actions (*af‘āl*), his states (*aḥwāl*) and his secret (thoughts, *asrār*).<sup>53</sup> In another passage of the *Tafsīr*, he couches the same idea in a brief phrase; “God is witness (*šāhid*) for everything (*al-kull*).<sup>54</sup>

The mental attitude of recalling to mind God’s taking care of man represents the basis for Tustarī’s notion of *ḍikr*. Through this awareness man orients himself towards God in his totality and grasp his existential situation before his Lord. But *ḍikr* not only presupposes the frame of mind of man’s actual knowledge of his state before God, it also has to be maintained by a steady diet of recollective acts which sustain man in his awareness of God’s omni-presence. Tustarī illustrates this function of *ḍikr* by comparing it to the daily diet (*qūt*) and sustenance (*rizq*) of man and by apprehending it analogously to the incessant glorification (*tasbīḥ*) and constant commemoration (*ḍikr*) of God on the part of the angels in heaven.

Tustarī’s frequently cited response to the query concerning man’s daily sustenance compares *ḍikr* with man’s nourishment (*ḡidā*), his provision (*rizq*), and his daily diet (*qūt*), and expresses it in a succinct phrase: “the daily diet (*qūt*), is the constant commemoration of God (*ad-ḍikr ad-dā'im*).<sup>55</sup> Tustarī seems to discover the origin of his conception of *ḍikr* as man’s spiritual sustenance in the perpetual glorification of God by the angels in heaven. Several passages in the *Tafsīr* draw this parallel between the angelic *ḍikr* and man’s spiritual sustenance.

In his commentary on the Qur’ānic verse, “say my Lord outspreads and straightens His provision (*rizq*) to whomsoever He will of His servants” (34, 39) Tustarī makes a distinction between two kinds of provision (*rizq*), spiritual and physical. The spiritual sustenance is the remembrance of God (*ḍikr*) and the physical provisions are food and drink. As the life of the angels consists in the commemoration of God, so *ḍikr* is the vital part of man’s spiritual life. “The provision (*rizq*) has two aspects (*waḡḡain*): the provision which is remembrance (*ḍikr*) is for the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the intellect (*‘aql*) and the heart (*qalb*) like the livelihood (*‘aiś*) of the angels (*malā’ikah*). Their life (*ḥayāt*) is by virtue of the commemoration of God (*ḍikr*). When it is kept away from them they die. The other provision

<sup>52</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 76; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 196 a/149 b; Baqlī, *‘Arā’is al-bayān*, II, 157.

<sup>53</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126.

<sup>54</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 118 (with reference to Qur’ān 85, 3).

<sup>55</sup> Abū Nu’aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya’*, X, 208.

is food (*ma'kūl*) and drink (*mašrūb*) and the life for the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*), in which comes to pass what is lawful (*ḥalāl*) and what is unlawful (*ḥarām*).<sup>56</sup>

Upon the Day of Resurrection when "the trumpet shall be blown, and whosoever is in the heavens and whosoever is in the earth shall swoon, save whom God wills" (39, 68), so Tustarī explains, "the angels (*malā'ikah*) are only commanded to refrain from the commemoration of God (*dīkr*) . . . God gives them life (*aḥyāhum*) by the commemoration of Him (*bi-dīkrihi*) just as He makes the sons of Adam (*banī Ādam*) to live by their breaths (*bi-anfāsihim*). God said, 'they glorify (*yusabbihūna*) by night and in the daytime and never failing' (21, 20). Thus when the commemoration of God (*dīkr*) is withheld from them they die."<sup>57</sup> In a similar way, Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic phrase, "the thunder proclaims (*yusabbihū*) his praise, and the angels, in awe of Him" (13, 13) by saying: "God singled out (*afrada*) the angels in remembrance (*dīkran*)."<sup>58</sup>

Antecedent to man's conscious grasp of God's taking care of him as his Witness to all his states and prior to any prayer practice of commemorating God on the part of man, God holds man in His eternal remembrance (*dīkr*). For upon the Day of Resurrection, when man returns to the source of his existence, he will be included in the eternal remembrance of God and thus exist in the mode of life of the angels. Commenting on the verse, "say, o my people who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy" (39, 53) Tustarī says: "God granted His servants (*ibād*) a respite, as a favour (*tafaḍḍul*) from Him, to a last breath (*aḥir nafas*). He said to them: 'do not despair of My mercy for if you return to Me at a last breath, I will receive you'. This is the most profound (*ablaḡ*) verse concerning God's compassion (*iṣfāq min Allāh*) towards His servants because of His knowledge (*ilm*) that He does not deprive them from what He bestowed on others, for He has mercy on them until He makes them enter into the source of kindness (*ʿain al-karam*) by virtue of (His) eternal remembrance for them (*ad-dīkr al-qadīm lahum*)."<sup>59</sup>

Although mystic man maintains his spiritual life by commemoration of God, he realizes his act of recollecting God as being effected within himself by God, the Object of his recollection. Tustarī says: "The life of the spirit (*ḥayāt ar-rūḥ*) is by virtue of the remembrance of God (*dīkr*). The life of the remembrance of God is by virtue of the one who remembers God (*dākir*). The life of the one who remembers God is by virtue of the One who is

<sup>56</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 77.

<sup>57</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 82.

<sup>58</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 51.

<sup>59</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 81; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 219 a/277 a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 202.

remembered (*madkūr*)."<sup>60</sup> The intimate communion with God that is achieved by the mystic (*dākir*) in his remembrance of God (*diker*) is described by Tustarī as an event, in which God, as the Object of the recollection (*madkūr*), brings about the recollection of Himself within the experience of the mystic. To this effect Tustarī speaks of the remembrance of God by virtue of God (*diker Allāh bi-llāh*), and of the recollection of God by virtue of the Object of recollection (*ad-diker bi'l-madkūr*). The actual intimate communion between God and the mystic in the recollection of God has its model in the *ḥadīṭ qudsī*, "I am the prayer-companion of whosoever remembers Me (*ana ḡālisu man ḏakarānī*); and when My servant seeks Me, he finds Me." Tustarī discovers the Qur'ānic keynote for this understanding of *diker* in derivatives of the root *sabbaḥa* (to glorify God) and demonstrates his view of the recollection of God by virtue of the divine agency in a few passages of the *Tafsīr*.

The Qur'ānic invitation, "magnify (*sabbih*) the name of thy Lord Most High" (87, 1) is interpreted by Tustarī as referring in its hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) to "the contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of God through the remembrance (*diker*) in the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) without witnessing of any other than Him."<sup>61</sup> In explanation of the Qur'ānic invitation, "let us humbly pray (*nabtahil*)" (3, 61) Tustarī says: "one who humbly prays (*mubtahil*) is one who personally prays (to God); and the humble prayer (*ibtihāl*) is the personal prayer (*du'ā'*). One who glorifies God (*musabbih*) is one who remembers God (*dākir*). The (recording) angels (*ḥafāṣah*) do not record him because (the remembrance) is the contemplative witnessing (of God), the Object of recollection (*mušāhadat al-madkūr*) in the recollection (*fi'd-diker*) by virtue of the Object of recollection (*bi'l-madkūr*). This is the meaning of God's word, 'I am the prayer-companion of whosoever remembers Me; and when My servant seeks Me, he finds me.'"<sup>62</sup>

Tustarī illustrates his view of *diker* by virtue of the divine agency through the examples of certain Qur'ānic prophets about whom God says in the Qur'ān: "Assuredly We purified them with a quality most pure, the remembrance of the Abode" (38, 46). For he comments on the verse: "(God) purified Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il and Ishāq from the remembrance of this world (*diker ad-dunyā*) by the remembrance of Him (*bi-dikrihi*) . . . in it (the remembrance) they did not witness their selves (*anfus*) but they remembered Him by virtue of Him and in view of Him (*ḏakarūhu bihi lahu*). One who remembers God through God (*man ḏakara Allāh bi-llāh*)

<sup>60</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 100 (with reference to Qur'ān 58, 22); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 262b/335a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 316.

<sup>61</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 119.

<sup>62</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25f.

is not like one who remembers God by the remembrance of God (*man dakara Allāh bi-dīkr Allāh*).<sup>63</sup>

A characteristic mark of God's elect (*ḥāṣṣat Allāh*) and His friends (*auliyā'*) is reflected in their ecstatic address of God when they throw themselves before God in contentment (*riḍā*) and confident abandonment (*sukūn*), saying: "There is no escape for us from You; You are You (*anta anta*); we do not desire anyone save You (*lā nurīdu siwāka*).<sup>64</sup>" They are "those in solitude with God (*al-mutafarridūn bi-llāh*)", who according to a tradition of the Prophet, "are shaken (*ihṭazzū*) by the remembrance of God (*ad-dīkr li-llāh*) and come lightfooted to the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*), the remembrance of God (*dīkr*) having taken from them their burdens (*atqāl*).<sup>65</sup>" Tustarī identifies them with "the masters (*mašāyih*) who are shaken in the recollection (*dīkr*) by the recollection of God (*dīkr*) as they sit in the presence of God (*li-llāh ta'ālā muḡālisūn*); just as God says in the tradition of the Prophet, 'I am the prayer-companion of whosoever remembers Me; and when My servant seeks Me, he finds Me.' And as God says in the Qur'ān, 'whithersoever you turn, there is the face of God (*waḡh Allāh*)' (2, 115).<sup>66</sup>

At the peak of his spiritual awareness mystic man realizes the divine agency as totally transforming him in his prayer experience of *dīkr*. Whereas he grasps the infinite divine reality within the secret core of his inmost being, he transposes this experience to the plane of his total, living reality through the recollection of God. This state of mind of the remembrance of God at the center of his life is, however, perceived as totally effected by God Himself. In the *dīkr* God becomes Lord within the mystic; God's primordial self-revelatory manifestation as Lord becomes recollected reality within the soul of man.

### 3. Mystical Certitude in Anticipation of Beatific Vision

The grasp of infinity achieved by mystic man in his inmost being gratifies the soul with the experience of certitude (*yaqīn*) which includes the firmness and assured hope of the mystic in the final attainment of his ultimate destiny in permanent subsistence with the Transcendent Reality. Tustarī's notion of certitude emerges from crucial passages of the *Tafsīr* and is corroborated by parallel passages in Ṣūfī primary sources. In Tustarī's view *yaqīn* presupposes the ascetic attitude of godfearing (*taqwā*) which is

<sup>63</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 80.

<sup>64</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3f.

interpreted as ridding oneself (*tabarrī*) from any other than God.<sup>65</sup> Man's deep-felt experience of God's presence within his inmost being totally gathers him within himself and focuses him on the divine reality. This total concentration of man on God is represented by the state of certitude, which in final analysis is described by Tustarī as "the attainment of God (*al-wuṣūl ilā Allāh*)."

#### a) The Certitude of Mystic Man

Tustarī's commentary on the Qur'ānic phrase, "and have awe of Me" (2, 40) can be considered as one crucial passage for his view of *yaqīn*. He interprets it as a reference to "the place (*mauḍī*) of the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) of the sight of the heart (*baṣar al-qalb*) and the experiential knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of the totality of the heart (*kullīyyat al-qalb*)."<sup>66</sup> Then he expands on his commentary and says: "suffering (*mukābadah*) and struggling (*muḡāhadah*) occur in the faith on account of God (*al-īmān li-llāh*). When the heart (*qalb*) ceases the devotion (*taqwā*) of other (than God, *al-ḡair*), then the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) is disclosed, and the servant (*'abd*), who abides in the faith on account of God, reaches the faith of God (*al-īmān bi-llāh*) with an unshakable profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīdan 'alā tamkīn*), which is the confident abandonment (*sukūn*) of his heart (*qalb*) to his Master (*ilā maulāhu*). Thus the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) discloses the knowledge (*'ilm*) of the quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*), and this is the attainment (*wuṣūl*) of God. For this certitude (*yaqīn*), by virtue of the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) that leads to the quintessence of certitude (*'ain-al-yaqīn*), is neither existentiated (*mukawwan*) nor created (*mahlūq*), because it is a light (*nūr*) of the light of the divine Being (*nūr dāt al-ḥaqq*), neither in the sense (*ma'nā*) of indwelling (*ḥulūl*), nor of cohabitation (*ḡam'*) nor of unification (*ittiṣāl*). But the meaning of the unification of the servant (*ittiṣāl al-'abd*) with his Master (*maulā*) refers to the place of his profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and his obedience (*ṭā'ah*) to God and His Prophet."<sup>67</sup>

The measure of the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) attained by man heavily weighs in his favour in the balance of judgement on the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*). "For one who weighs more in certitude (*yaqīn*) is heavier in the balance (of judgment, *mīzān*) and thus has less (weight) against him in his balance."<sup>68</sup> An adumbration of this idea is also

<sup>65</sup> Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 199.

<sup>66</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 10b/12a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 22f.

<sup>67</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12.

<sup>68</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 199.

found in Tustarī's commentary on the Qur'ānic verse 36, 11: "whoso serves God in his inmost being (*sirr*) has God bequeath him certitude (*yaqīn*). Whoso serves God with the truthfulness (*ṣidq*) of his tongue (*lisān*) has his heart (*qalb*) not come to rest short of the throne (*'arṣ*). Whoso serves God with justice (*inṣāf*), has the heavens and the earth in his balance (*mīzān*)."<sup>69</sup>

Continuing in his commentary on Qur'ān 2, 40, Tustarī perceives the soundness of man's certitude in his trust (*tiqah*) in God and his beautiful thought (*ḥusn az-ẓann*) about Him. He concludes with the passage: "The trust in God (*at-tiqah bi-llāh*) is the direct witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*) of the certitude (*yaqīn*) and of the quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*). Its totality (*kulliyah*), perfection (*kamāl*) and goal (*nihāyah*) is the attainment of God (*al-wuṣūl ila Allāh*)."<sup>70</sup>

To decipher the contours of these jottings: when man, upon the examination of his soul, discards all concern for other beings than God and reaches the unshakable faith in God's Oneness then the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) is made manifest to him. This light of certitude includes and reveals the quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*), which is neither existentiated nor created, but is divine light within man and attained by man. The presence of the divine light within man does not however denote any kind of union between the human and the divine, but is realized by man in his profession of God's Oneness and his obedience to God and His Prophet.

In the context of his commentary on the Qur'ānic phrase, "and fear you Me" (2, 41) Tustarī further illustrates his view of *yaqīn*. "The Prophet said, 'if 'Isā b Maryam had had more certitude (*yaqīn*) he would have walked in the air (*hawā'*) just as he used to walk on water (*mā'*)'. During the midnight journey (*lailat al-isrā'*) our Prophet walked in the air with the strength of the light of his certitude (*nūr yaqīnihi*) which God gave him from His light (*min nūrihi*) as an augmentation of light to a light which he possessed from God. The Prophet said, 'if the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) had been firmly established in the heart (*qalb*) of Dā'ūd and he had not forgotten about his disobedience (*mā' aṣā*) then, upon my life, the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) would have been established in its countries (*auṭān*) so that it may occur to him what previously was in him of God's knowledge (*'ilm Allāh*).' For it inescapably had to be manifested upon his qualities (*auṣāf*) since God's knowledge is an injunction (*ḥatm*) that the knowledge may not be changed to anything else than what the All-knowing knows. For, in

<sup>69</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 78.

<sup>70</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 12.

the countries (*auṭān*) of Dā'ūd God veiled only the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) by which the quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*) and its totality (*kulliyyah*) are perceived, so that God's decree (*ḥukm Allāh*) concerning it may be perfected. Do you not consider, that man (*'abd*) visually beholds God (*yanẓura ilā'l-ḥaqq*) only by reason of a subtle substance (*latīfah*) from God (*al-ḥaqq*) which he united with his heart (*qalb*). It pertains to the qualities (*auṣāf*) of the Essence (*dāt*) of His Lord (*rabb*). It is neither existentiated (*mukawwanah*) nor created (*mahlūqah*), it is neither conjunct (with God, *maṣṣūlah*) nor is it cut off (from God, *maqtū'ah*). It is an absolute secret (*sirr min sirr ilā sirr*) and an ultimate mystery (*ḡaib min ḡaib ilā ḡaib*). The certitude (*yaqīn*) is by virtue of God (*bi-llāh*) whereas man (*'abd*) is possessed of certitude (*mūqīn*) by reason of Him and on account of Him proportionate to the gift (*mauhibah*) and the totality of the deepest folds of his heart (*suwaidā' qalbihi*) which God assigned him. Faith has two homelands (*waṭanān*): it does not abide and it does not leave. The light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) has perilous moments (*ḥaṭarāt*): when it abides and settles down it becomes faith (*īmān*). The certitude (*yaqīn*) has further perilous moments for it is in (constant) augmentation (*mazīd*). This is its state forever (*abadan*)."<sup>71</sup>

In this passage Tustarī shows, by way of illustrations from *ḥadīth* materials, how the Qur'ānic prophet Dā'ūd was prevented from penetrating to certitude, and how the Qur'ānic Jesus (*'Isā b Maryam*) attained only a modest degree of it, whereas Muḥammad was given by God the full light of certitude on the occasion of his midnight journey. This event is depicted by Tustarī as a heavenly ascent of Muḥammad who encounters his Lord and beholds him in contemplative witnessing. The Qur'ānic passage 53, 1–12 and certain of its keynotes are interpreted by Tustarī as references to Muḥammad's spiritual vision which gratifies his soul with the light of certitude. Whereas this light of certitude is understood as an intensification and augmentation of Muḥammad's primordial light-nature, its vision by Muḥammad is situated as an event in this world.

The preceding passages quoted from Tustarī's *Tafsīr* demonstrated his view of the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) as a spiritual quality in mystic man which holds the divine gift of a subtle substance within man's heart. This subtle core embraced by the light of certitude is the quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*) itself, which is uncreated and divine. Mystic man, in his spiritual attainment of certitude, thus grasps infinity within himself without merging with it, since he perceives it in its light, but does not seize it in its inaccessible core and mystery.

<sup>71</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 13.

## b) The Moments of Mystical Certitude

Another crucial passage in Tustarī's view of *yaqīn* is his commentary on the Qur'ānic verses 102, 5 and 102, 7. These two verses set the Qur'ānic notions of *'ilm al-yaqīn* (the knowledge of certitude) and *'ain al-yaqīn* (the quintessence of certitude) parallel to each other. Tustarī's commentary on the passages compares the knowledge of certitude with a burning oil lamp, points out three progressive degrees of certitude, and defines the quintessence of certitude as the underlying reality and totality of *yaqīn*. The passage is subdivided into three sections and reads:

"No indeed; did you know with the knowledge of certitude (*'ilm al-yaqīn*)' (102, 5): The certitude (*yaqīn*) is the fire (*nār*); the profession with the tongue (*al-iqrār bi'l-lisān*) is the wick (*fatīlah*), and the deed (*'amal*) is its oil (*zait*).<sup>72</sup> The beginning (*ibtidā'*) is unveiling (*mukāṣafah*), then (comes) visual beholding (*mu'āyanah*), and contemplative witnessing (*muṣāhadah*).<sup>73</sup> You shall surely see it with the eye of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*)' (102, 7): The quintessence of certitude (*'ain al-yaqīn*) does not form part of certitude (*yaqīn*) but is the thing itself (*nafs aṣ-ṣai'*) and its totality (*kulliyyah*)."<sup>74</sup>

The image of certitude as a burning oil-lamp emphasizes the spiritual energy which is brought about by man's firm adherence to the certain presence of God within himself. At another point in the *Tafsīr*, in his commentary on Qur'ān 4, 142, Tustarī depicts the firmness of certitude (*yaqīn*) by the image of the pegs that hold the heart (like a tent) in its place. He says: "Certitude (*yaqīn*) is the pegs (*autād*) of the hearts of the gnostics (*qulūb al-ʿarifīn*) and of the spirits of those longing (for God, *arwāḥ al-muṣṭaqīn*), in the same way as the mountains of this world (*ḡibāl ad-dunyā*) together with the mountain Qāf are the pegs of the earths (*autād al-arḍīn*) and the backbone of the worlds (*qiwām al-ʿālamīn*)."<sup>75</sup> Thus certitude emerges as that spiritual attainment of mystic man which firmly anchors him in his total orientation towards God, his ultimate destiny.

The three successive degrees of certitude, *mukāṣafah*, *mu'āyanah* and *muṣāhadah*, are characteristic of Tustarī's notion of *yaqīn*. The pattern of this tripartition has its root in the primordial adoration of God by the

<sup>72</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 290a/378a; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 203; Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafs 'Umar, *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Cairo 1358/1939; p. 252.

<sup>73</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 290a/378a; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 203; Quṣairī, *Risālah*, 391; Kalābādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq, *Kutāb at-ta'arruf li-madḥab ahl-taṣawwuf* (ed. A. J. Arberry), Cairo 1934, p. 73f.

<sup>74</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 126; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 290a/378b.

<sup>75</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 32.



primal being of Muḥammad in the form of light (*nūr Muḥammad*), and is inspired by the prophetic prototypes, the Qur'ānic figures of Mūsā (Moses), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), and Muḥammad, who each prefigure one degree of this tripartition. The pattern derives its inner dynamics from the certain expectation of man's beatific vision in the world to come, and from the assured anticipation of man's ultimate destiny in the permanence of God.

As has been noted in the preceding chapter, Muḥammad stood before the Lord of all-Being (*rabb al-'ālamīn*) in primordial adoration, being granted "the visual beholding of faith (*mu'āyanat al-īmān*), the unveiling of certainty (*mukāṣafat al-yaqīn*) and the direct witnessing of the Lord (*ṣahādat ar-rabb*)". During his contemplative witnessing (*muṣāhadah*) of God, "prior to the beginning of creation", Muḥammad was revealed the mystery (*mukāṣafat al-ḡaib*) by Mystery Itself (*ḡaib*). He absorbed the divine attributes in his contemplation, so that his heart (*qalb*) became resplendent with the "contemplative witnessing of the Omnipotent (*muṣāhadat al-ḡabbār*)".<sup>76</sup> Thus Muḥammad's pre-existential vision of God comprises the certain attainment of the three decisive spiritual moments (*mukāṣafah*, *mu'āyanah*, *muṣāhadah*) which sum up the final achievement of man's ultimate destiny and, here in this world, gratify his soul with the anticipation of supreme fulfilment and the consummation in the world to come.

Moses, drawn near to God in confidential communion at Mount Sinai, represents for Tustarī the Qur'ānic prototype of the mystic experience of unveiling (*mukāṣafah*). At various places in the *Tafsīr* Tustarī mentions incidents of "the story of Moses", but, in particular, views Moses as the prophet who was spoken to by God (*al-kalīm*) and who witnessed a theophanic revelation of God. Thus Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic statement, "We brought him (Moses) near in communion (*qarrabnāhu naḡiyyan*)" (19, 52), as meaning "(We brought him near) in confidential communion (*munāḡiyyan*) because of the unveiling (*mukāṣafah*) which does not conceal God's favour (*mann al-ḥaqq*) upon the hearts (*qulūb*) in conversation (*muḥādāṭah*) and love (*wudd*). As God said, 'unto them the All-merciful shall assign love (*wudd*)' (19, 96), that is (He shall assign) unveiling (*mukāṣafah*) which occupies the inmost beings (*asrār*) without intermediary (*wāṣiṭah*). This is the stage of God's favour (*maqām mann Allāh*) granted to those who are truthful before God (*ṣadaqū li-llāh*) in the inmost being (*sirr*) and the outward conduct (*'alāniyyah*)."<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> cf. chapter IV, section 1a.

<sup>77</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60.

Abraham's request of God, "My Lord, show me how Thou wilt give life to the dead" (2, 260), is interpreted by Tustarī as the prefiguration of the mystic's quest for visual beholding (*mu'āyanah*). Abraham's request is not understood as an expression of doubt (*šakk*) in his faith (*īmān*) but as a search for augmentation of certitude (*ziyādah yaqīn*) in addition to his habitual faith (*īmān kāna ma'ahu*). "For he (Abraham) asked for the unveiling (*kašf*) of the cover (*giṭā*) of visual beholding (*'iṣyān*) with the eyes of his head (*bi-'ainai ra'sihi*), so that by the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) he may be augmented in certitude (*yaqīn*) about the omnipotence of God (*qudrat Allāh*) and in firmness (*tamkīn*) about His act of creation (*ḥalq*)."<sup>78</sup> The subsequent, somewhat lengthy disquisition in the *Tafsīr* contrasts Abraham's request, a search for augmentation of certitude in faith, with the request of Jesus' disciples for a table sent down from heaven, a search for an evidence of faith through seeing with one's own eyes (*mu'āyanah*).<sup>79</sup>

Muḥammad's vision, recorded in Qur'ān 53, 1–12, is interpreted by Tustarī as a spiritual journey (*isrā'*) to heaven (*samā'*) which leads to the face to face encounter (*kifāh*) of his heart with God and represents the typical pattern of the contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) that is realized by mystic man. The stenographic recordings in the *Tafsīr* concerning Muḥammad's vision (an event in this world, not in primordial times) read as follows: "'By the star when it plunges' (53, 1) refers to Muḥammad when he returned from heaven (*samā'*). 'Your comrade is not astray neither errs' (53, 2) means, in no case was he astray from the reality of the profession of God's Oneness (*ḥaqīqat at-tauḥīd*), neither did he in any event follow Satan. 'Nor speaks he out of caprice' (53, 3): by no means did he utter falsehood (*bāṭil*). His (Muḥammad's) speech (*nutq*) was a proof (*ḥuḡḡah*) of God's (own) proofs; so, how would there be a counterargument (*i'tirāḍ*) against it by individual passion (*hawā*) and Satan? 'Then He drew near and suspended hung' (53, 8), that is to say he (Muḥammad) approached closer and closer (*qurban ba'da qurban*). 'His heart lies not of what he saw' (53, 11) namely what he (Muḥammad) saw at the contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of his Lord (*rabb*), as he face to face encountered him (*kifāhan*) with the sight of his heart (*baṣar qalbihi*). 'What, will you dispute with him what he sees' (53, 12), that is to say what he saw from Us (God) and through Us (*minnā wa-binā*). What he saw from Us (and) through Us is more excellent (*afḍal*) than what he saw from Us through himself (*mā yarāhu minnā bihi*)."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 18; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 16 b/20 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 58.

<sup>79</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 18 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 260; 5, 113; 2, 258).

<sup>80</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 95; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 250 b/317 b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 285; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 251 b/318 b.

The three degrees of *mukāṣṣafah*, *mu'āyanah*, and *muṣāhadah* as exemplified by the Qur'anic prophets Moses, Abraham and Muḥammad, have been realized as moments of certitude (*yaqīn*) included in the contemplation of the primal Muḥammad. Muḥammad's primordial vision, in turn, is understood in analogy to man's beatific vision in the world to come. For, upon the Day of Resurrection, the moments of certitude of mystic man will achieve their perfection in the permanent unveiling (*mukāṣṣafah*), beholding (*mu'āyanah*) and witnessing (*muṣāhadah*) of the divine Reality as It manifests Itself. The certitude (*yaqīn*) of mystic experience will be transfigured and overtaken by theophanic revelation (*taḡallī*).

The climax of the joys of paradise in the world to come is "the revelation of unveiling (*taḡallī al-mukāṣṣafah*)", when the Unseen Mystery (*ḡaib*) will be unveiled, the inward realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) will be perceived, and God will be seen with the spiritual eye of man's heart (*qalb*). In paradise man enjoys "the visual beholding of God (*mu'āyanat al-ḥaqq*) in the sense of nearness (*qurb*) which He brings about between Him and them. Thus man (*'abd*) sees his heart (*qalb*) in the nearness of God (*qurb al-ḥaqq*) as being witnessed (*maṣhūd*) in the absolute mystery (*ḡaib al-ḡaib*)."<sup>81</sup> The blessed in paradise will see "their eyes delight (*qurraṭ a'yunihim*) at what they witness (*ṣāhadū*) of the outward realities (*min zāhir al-ḥaqā'iq*) and the inward realities (*wa-bāṭinihā*) which are unveiled for them (*kuṣifat lahum*) by virtue of the knowledge of unveiling (*'ulūm al-mukāṣṣafah*), so that they see them and grasp them, and their eyes (*a'yun*) are delighted at them and their hearts (*qulūb*) are at peace before them."<sup>82</sup> In the world to come "the bliss (*na'im*) of the select (*ḥāṣṣ*) among His (God's) servants (*'ibād*), namely the pious (*abrār*), is the encounter (*liqā'*) of Him and the contemplative witnessing (*muṣāhadah*) of Him, just as their bliss in this world (*dunyā*) is His contemplative witnessing (*muṣāhadah*) and His nearness (*qurb*)."<sup>83</sup>

In this world mystic man anticipates his ultimate grasp of infinity in his experience of certitude (*yaqīn*) which includes the forebodings and incipient realizations of the three moments of unveiling, beholding, and witnessing. The moment of unveiling (*mukāṣṣafah*) emphasizes the raising of the veil which screens the vision of the heart and separates man from the spiritual realities. Totally an act of the divine agency, it yet opens up for the mystic the deep-felt experience of all that which he indistinctly grasps in faith. As an act of visual beholding (*mu'āyanah*) the mystic experience is

<sup>81</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60 (with reference to Qur'ān 19, 61).

<sup>82</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 75 (with reference to Qur'ān 32, 17), Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 193 a/246 a.

<sup>83</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 116 (with reference to Qur'ān 82, 13).

marked by a momentary grasp of suprasensible realities; as an act of contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) it approaches the lasting absorption in the contemplated reality which excludes any regard for other than God. Tustarī considers this mystical state of witnessing (*mušāhadah*) as a gift of the heart (*qalb*) and as the inner core of the recollection of God (*dīkr*) and of the purity of intention (*iḥlās*) in man's actions.

A few items of Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ānic verses describe *mušāhadah* as a gift of the hearts of men. With reference to the verse, "or have they not considered the dominion of the heaven and of the earth" (7, 185), Tustarī says: "God made mention (*dakara*) of His omnipotence (*qudrah*) among His creation (*ḥalq*) and depicted their need (*ḥāḡah*) of Him. He did not create anything they would hear but not see, so that they would not be misled by it. If they were to witness (*šāhadū*) it with their hearts (*qulūb*), then they would believe in the Unseen (*ḡaib*), – for faith (*īmān*) leads them to the contemplative witnessing of the Unseen (*mušāhadat al-ḡaib*) which is concealed from them (*ḡāba 'anhum*) – and they would inherit the ranks (*daraḡāt*) of the pious (*abrār*) and become signs (*a'lām*) for guidance (*hudā*)."<sup>84</sup> In one passage of the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī states that the light of God's guidance (*nūr hidāyatihi*) of the hearts (*qulūb*) occurs in contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of God and in confident abandonment (*sukūn*) to him;<sup>85</sup> in another he says: "God gives life to the hearts (*qulūb*) of the mystics (*ahl al-ḥaqq*) through recollection (*dīkr*) of Him and contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of Him."<sup>86</sup> Finally Tustarī points out "the west (*maḡrib*)" of the heart as the seat of contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*).<sup>87</sup>

*Mušāhadah* is at the core of man's recollection of God (*dīkr*) because it focuses man on the very Object of his recollection, God. Thus Tustarī interprets the verse, "is it not time that the hearts of those who believe should be humbled to the remembrance of God (*dīkr Allāh*)" (57, 16) as meaning, "has the time of humility not come for them at the audition of recollection (*samā' ad-dīkr*) so that they witness the (eschatological) promise (*wa'd*) and threat (*wa'id*) in contemplative witnessing of the Unseen (*mušāhadat al-ḡaib*)."<sup>88</sup> "The good loan" (57, 11) is explained by Tustarī as "the contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*)" expressed by the Prophet's saying: "serve God as if you see Him."<sup>89</sup> As noted above in the discussion of *dīkr*,

<sup>84</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 42; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 64 a/–.

<sup>85</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur'ān 2, 5).

<sup>86</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 84 (with reference to Qur'ān 42, 9).

<sup>87</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97 (with reference to Qur'ān 55, 17).

<sup>88</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 99; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 260a/331b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 309.

<sup>89</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 99; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 259b/330b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 309.

*muṣāḥadah* represents its core, because the recollection of God consists in the contemplation of the Object of recollection (*muṣāḥadat al-maḍkūr*) and absorbs man to such a degree in the divine reality that he is incapable of witnessing any other than God.

Tustarī's *Tafsīr* repeatedly sets purity of intention (*iḥlās*) parallel to contemplative witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*). In one instance Tustarī points out purity of intention (*iḥlās*), contemplative witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*) and god-fearing (*taqwā*) as reinforcing each other;<sup>90</sup> in another he defines *iḥlās* by *muṣāḥadah* and *muṣāḥadah* by servanthood (*'ubūdiyyah*).<sup>91</sup> Then he simply states "purity of intention (*iḥlās*) is contemplative witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*)"<sup>92</sup> whereas in his commentary on Qur'ān 13, 43 he views *muṣāḥadah* as a perfection of *iḥlās*.<sup>93</sup> In a brief excursus on faith (*īmān*) at the end of Sūrah 3, Tustarī states: "Purity of intention (*iḥlās*) is the fruit of certitude (*yaqīn*) because certitude is the contemplative witnessing (*muṣāḥadah*) of the inmost being (*sirr*). Thus one who has no contemplative witnessing of the inmost being in the presence of his Lord (*ma'a maulāhu*) and does not see Him (*wa-yarāhu*), has no action (*'amal*) of pure intention before God."<sup>94</sup>

In his experience of certitude and its moments of unveiling, beholding and witnessing, mystic man attains to God and grasps His infinity within himself. He perceives the divine reality within himself as the quintessence enshrined in the light of certitude. Mystic man experiences the certitude which radiates in his inmost being as an anticipation of his future destiny in the world to come, and views its moments as actual prefigurations of his ultimate state in the permanence of God. This anticipation expresses itself most prominently in his prayer life, when he penetrates to the actual and certain contemplation of the divine reality in his recollection of God, and in his righteous action, when he discards all other motives and acts on strength of the purity of his intention, which is God alone.

#### 4. The Gift of Faith

In his primordial adoration, the primal being of the "light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*)" absorbed as it were in his heart (*qalb Muḥammad*) the divine attributes which were made manifest to him as

<sup>90</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 61 (with reference to Qur'ān 19, 85).

<sup>91</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 76 (with reference to Qur'ān 33, 35); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 196 a/249 b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 157).

<sup>92</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 45 (with reference to Qur'ān 10, 22).

<sup>93</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 51; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 104 a/134 a.

<sup>94</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 29.

“the supreme lights (*al-anwār al-‘azīmah*)” of God. Man, existentiated in pre-existence as a particle of light, participates in Muḥammad’s light-nature and draws from the well-spring of his heart. Upon his creation in the world of phenomenal existence man enshrines his pristine light as a divine gift within his inmost being. In Tustarī’s view, mystic man becomes aware of this divine gift within himself, and grasps it in its different facets as the light of gnosis (*nūr al-ma’rifah*), the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*), the light of guidance (*nūr al-hidāyah*) and the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*). These different connotations of the pristine light within man emphasize the multifarious forms in which the mystic perceives the divine grace that gratifies his heart with the divine presence. Tustarī’s *Tafsīr*, however, accentuates prominently the light of faith as this divine gift, whereas it refers to the light of gnosis, certitude and guidance in a less conspicuous fashion.

The preceding section of this chapter demonstrated the light of certitude (*nūr al-yaqīn*) as the insight of the heart (*baṣar al-qalb*) into the quintessence of certitude (*‘ain al-yaqīn*), which is the “uncreated” divine presence within man. Furthermore the light of certitude was realized as instilling in man the assured hope and anticipation of his ultimate destiny in the permanent presence of God. In the introduction to the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī defines “the light of the insight of certitude (*nūr baṣīrat al-yaqīn*)” as “the confident self-abandonment of the heart to God (*sukūn al-qalb ilā Allāh*) in each and every state (*ḥāl*).”<sup>95</sup>

The divine guidance, experienced by mankind, is interpreted by Tustarī as “a manifestation (*bayān*) from their Lord (*rabb*) by virtue of the light of guidance (*nūr al-hidāyah*),”<sup>96</sup> which leads the hearts (*qulūb*) to contemplative witnessing (*mušāhadah*) of God and to confident self-abandonment (*sukūn*) in His presence. This light of guidance constitutes a part of the divine light (*min nūrihi*) by which God singularized man (*afradahum*) in His divine foreknowledge (*fī-sābiq ‘ilmihī*). It so transforms man that he neither moves his tongue nor casts a glance of his eye without being divinely guided, because he lives in his total desire of God’s presence.<sup>97</sup> As has been noted above, this light of divine guidance (*nūr al-hidāyah*) forms part of the original blessing (*ni’mah*) and primordial gift (*al-mauhibah al-azaliyyah*), on the basis of which man attains to gnosis (*ma’rifah*) and purity of intention (*iḥlās*) in his actions.<sup>98</sup> Thus Tustarī also interprets the divine assurance of Muḥammad in the Qur’ān, “surely, thou shalt guide

<sup>95</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>96</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 5).

<sup>97</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9.

<sup>98</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 15 (with reference to Qur’ān 2, 197).

unto a straight path (*ṣirāṭ mustaqīm*)” (42, 52) as meaning, “they (man) are summoned to your Lord (*rabb*) by the light of His guidance (*bi-nūr hidāyatihī*).”<sup>99</sup>

The light of gnosis (*nūr al-maʿrifah*) also has its seat in the heart (*qalb*) of man and is closely associated with “the lamp of the profession of God’s oneness (*sirāḡ at-tauḥīd*)”<sup>100</sup> which has its seat in the secret of man’s inmost being (*sirr*).

Tustarī comments on “the lamp (*miṣbāḥ*)” mentioned in the famous light-verse (*āyat an-nūr*) of the Qurʾān (24, 35) and says: “the candle (*sirāḡ*) of the lamp (*miṣbāḥ*) is the gnosis (*maʿrifah*), its wick (*fatīlah*) is the religious duties (*farāʾid*), its oil (*duhn*) is purity of intention (*iḥlāṣ*), and its light (*nūr*) is the light of spiritual attainment (*ittiṣāl*). For whenever the purity of intention increases in purity (*ṣafāʾan*), the lamp increases in brightness (*ḍiyāʾan*); and whenever the religious duties increase in reality (*ḥaqīqatan*), the lamp increases in light (*nūran*).”<sup>101</sup>

Tustarī seems to understand the light of gnosis as closely akin to the light of faith. For, in three crucial statements of his *Tafsīr*, he sets both notions parallel to each other. In his commentary on the Qurʾānic passage, “and that it is He (God) who makes to laugh, and that makes to weep, and that it is He who makes to die, and that makes to live” (53, 43–44), Tustarī says: “He makes to laugh the hearts of the gnostics (*qulūb al-ʿarīfīn*) with the light of His gnosis (*bi-nūr maʿrifatihī*); and He makes to weep the hearts of His enemies (*qulūb aʿdāʾihī*) with the darkness of His wrath (*bi-ẓulumāt suḥuṭihī*). . . . He makes to die the hearts of the enemies with unbelief (*kufṛ*) and darkness (*ẓulmah*); and He makes to live the hearts of His friends (*qulūb auliyaʾihī*) with the faith (*īmān*) and the lights of gnosis (*anwār al-maʿrifah*).”<sup>102</sup>

The Qurʾānic reference to “the evildoers” who, “desire to extinguish with their mouths the light of God” (61, 8), is interpreted by Tustarī as meaning: “With their tongues (*alsinab*) they reject the proof (*ḥuḡḡab*) of the Prophet; and with their souls (*nufūs*) they turn away from him. God foreordained (*qayyada*) the recognition of him for certain souls (*anfus*), creating them (*auḡadaha*) upon the decree of bliss (*ḥukm as-saʿādah*), and adorned the hearts (*qulūb*) with the lights of His gnosis (*anwār maʿrifatihī*) and the secrets of its lights (*asrār anwārihā*) by virtue of the firm belief

<sup>99</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85; Baqlī, *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, II, 238.

<sup>100</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85 (with reference to Qurʾān 43, 55); Sulamī, *Ḥaqāʾiq at-tafsīr*, 232 b/292 b; Baqlī, *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, II, 241.

<sup>101</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 68.

<sup>102</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 96 (the statement is partially ascribed to Ibn ʿAṭā in Sulamī’s *Ḥaqāʾiq at-tafsīr*, 252 b/320 b and in Baqlī’s *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, II, 291.

(*taṣḍīq*). So they spent freely for him their innermost selves (*muhağ*) and (their) possessions (*amwāl*) like Abū Bakr (*aṣ-ṣiddīq*), 'Umar (*al-fārūq*) and the honourable companions (*ṣaḥābah*)."<sup>103</sup>

Finally, Tustarī's running commentary on the verse, "and do thou purify My house for those that shall go about it and those that stand, for those that bow and prostrate themselves" (22, 26) reads: "'Purify My house' from the idols (*autān*, graven images) in favour of My servants who purify their hearts (*qulūb*) from doubt (*ṣakke*), uncertainty (*raib*), and harshness (*qaswah*). As God commanded the purification (*taṭhīr*) of His house from the idols (*aṣṇām*, hewn images) so He commanded the purification of His house to which He entrusted the secret of faith (*sirr al-īmān*) and the light of gnosis (*nūr al-ma'rifah*) and this (house) is the heart of the believer (*qalb al-mu'min*). God commanded the believer to purify it from malice (*gill*), corruption (*giss*) and the inclination to lusts (*ṣahwāt*) and heedlessness (*ḡaflah*). 'For those who go about it': in it is abundance of divine assistance (*zawwā'id at-taufīq*); 'and those that stand' upon the lights of faith (*anwār al-īmān*); 'for those that bow and prostrate themselves': (this refers to) fear (*ḥauf*) and hope (*rağā*). For the heart is a house (*bait*); when it is not inhabited, it goes to ruin. When someone other than its owner (*mālik*) inhabits it, then it goes to ruin. If you want your hearts (*qulūb*) to thrive then do not call someone else than God into them. If you want your breasts (*ṣudūr*) to thrive then do not call into them other than the world to come (*āḥirah*). If you want your tongues (*alsinah*) to thrive then do not call into them save truthfulness (*ṣidq*). If you want your bodily organs (*ḡawāriḥ*) to thrive then do not call into them something save (it be approved) by the (Prophet's) practice (*sunnah*)."<sup>104</sup>

"The light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*) belongs to the greatest graces (*minan*) of God and to His charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*)."<sup>105</sup> Tustarī interprets the verse, "the day when some faces are whitened, and some faces blackened" (3, 106) to mean: "the faces of the believers (*wuğūḥ al-mu'minīn*) are whitened by the light of their faith (*nūr īmānihim*), and the faces of the disbelievers (*wuğūḥ al-kāfirīn*) are blackened by the darkness of their unbelief (*ẓulm kufrihim*)."<sup>106</sup> In explanation to the Qur'ānic verses 91, 3–4 he says: "The light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*) reveals the darkness of ignorance (*ẓulmat al-ḡahl*) and extinguishes the blaze of hellfire (*lahīb an-nār*) . . . Sins (*dunūb*) and obduracy (*iṣrār*) in sin enshroud the light of faith (*nūr*

<sup>103</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 103.

<sup>104</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 65.

<sup>105</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 27 (with reference to Qur'ān 3, 113 and 24, 40).

<sup>106</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 27.



*al-īmān*) so that it does not shine forth in the heart (*qalb*) and does not make manifest its effect (*atar*) on the qualities (*ṣifāt*).<sup>107</sup>

This light of faith enshrined in the heart is a divine gift antecedent to the creation of man. Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse, "He has written faith upon their hearts, and He has confirmed them with a Spirit from Himself" (58, 22) demonstrates faith as a gift of God, who bestowed it upon His friends and inscribed seven spiritual realities upon their hearts. The light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*) makes appear this invisible writing in the hearts of men. The whole passage, as quoted in the *Tafsīr*, comprises two statements and is corroborated by Tustarī's interpretation of Qur'ān 57, 12.

"God wrote faith (*īmān*) in lines (*suṭūran*) upon the hearts (*qulūb*) of His friends (*auliyā*). The first line is the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*), the second is gnosis (*ma'rifaḥ*), the third truthfulness (*ṣidq*), the fourth uprightness (*istiḳāmah*), the fifth confidence (*tiqāh*), the sixth reliance (*i'timād*), and the seventh is trust in God (*tawakkul*). This writing (*kitābah*) is God's action (*fi'l Allāh*), not man's action (*fi'l al-'abd*). Man's action in faith is outward submission (*ẓāhir al-islām*) and the part of it that is outwardly displayed. But the part (of faith) that is inward (*bāṭin*) is God's action upon man."<sup>108</sup>

"The writing upon the heart (*qalb*) is the gift of faith (*mauhibat al-īmān*) with which God endows them (i.e. man) before He creates them (*qabla an ḥalaqahum*) in the loins (*qslāb*) and wombs (*arḥām*). Thereupon He discloses a glance (*baṣar*) of the light (*nūr*) in the heart and then raises the cover (*ḡiṭā*) from it so that they, by His blessing (*barakah*), may behold the hidden (*muḡayyabāt*) writing and light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*).<sup>109</sup>

"The light of the believer (*nūr al-mu'min*)", which as the Qur'ān says "is running before the believers" (57, 12), is identified by Tustarī with "the light that God made for His friends (*auliyā*). This light does become manifest only for someone who submits and surrenders, and belongs to the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*)."<sup>110</sup> Finally, God divests the heart of man of the light of faith (*nūr al-īmān*) if he scoffs at a heretic (*mubtadi*).<sup>111</sup>

### 5. The Profession of God's Oneness

Tustarī's mystical range of ideas is strongly marked by the emphasis on the oneness of God, who is not only set off from the multiplicity of His

<sup>107</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 121.

<sup>108</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 100; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 262 b/335 a.

<sup>109</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 100; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 262 b/335 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 315.

<sup>110</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 99; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 260 a/331 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 309.

<sup>111</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 262 a/335 a.

creatures but also is uniquely perfect in His ultimate unicity. The profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) by mystic man is not a mere verbal confession of the unity of God but a fundamental orientation of his life towards God who alone is the Master of his heart. In Tustarī's view, the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) has its origin in the pre-existential ages, is realized by man's firm adherence to the One God in the world of creation, and is finally fulfilled by the permanent vision and subsistence of man in God's presence in post-existential eternity. A great variety of succinct citations in the *Tafsīr* demonstrates *tauḥīd* as the basic actualization of man which accompanies him on his course from primordial to post-existential times.

In pre-existence, on the Day of Covenant (*yaum al-mītāq*), man recognized and acknowledged God in His divine lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) and professed God's oneness (*tauḥīd*). Man's confession of God as One is rooted in God's manifestation of His omnipotence to the existentiated beings (*akwān*) prior to their creation. Tustarī shows this in his commentary on the Qur'ānic phrase, "God bears witness that there is no god but He" (3, 18) and says: "God knows (*'alima*) and makes manifest (*bayyana*) that there is no god but He. He bears witness to Himself by Himself (*ṣahida li-nafsihi bi-nafsihi*), and this is particular to His essence (*ḥāṣṣ li-dātihi*). He calls as witness (*istaṣhada*) whom He pleases from among His created beings (*ḥalq*) before He creates them through His knowledge (*'ilm*). Therein is a reminder for people possessed of His gnosis (*ma'rifah*) that He is All-knowing (*'alim*) about what comes into being prior to His (act of) existentiation (*qabla kaunihi*), and that the reality of the profession of God's oneness (*ḥaqīqat at-tauḥīd*) comes to pass without the existentiated beings (*mā kāna bi-dūni'l-akwān*), as God (*al-ḥaqq*) testified it to Himself by Himself prior to the (existence) of the existentiated beings (*akwān*)."<sup>112</sup>

Five passages in the *Tafsīr* concerning God's pre-existential covenant (*'ahd*), the divine rule and kingdom over man (*mulk*), the mystical attainment of trust in God (*tawakkul*), and man's attitude as a servant (*'abd*) of His Lord (commentary on Qur'ān 1, 4 and 3, 64) depict the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) as the inner core of these spiritual experiences.

The covenant (*'ahd*) which God concluded with man is equated with the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) by Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic phrase "God's bond (*ḥabl Allāh*)" (3, 103; 112).<sup>113</sup> "The kingdom

<sup>112</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 19 a/23 a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 73.

<sup>113</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25.

(*mulk*)” (3, 26) which God grants to man includes “the gnosis (*maʿrifah*), the profession of God’s oneness (*tauḥīd*), the laws (*ṣarāʾi*) of your religion Islām, and the praised outcome (*al-ʿāqibah al-maḥmūdah*).”<sup>114</sup>

In his commentary on the Qurʾānic admonition of Muḥammad, “put thy trust in God” (4, 81), Tustarī states: “In origin (*aṣl*) the reality (*ḥaqīqah*) of trust in God is the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*), in derivation (*farʿ*) it is the knowledge of the (Last) Hour (*ʿilm as-sāʿah*), and in consummation (*sukūn*) it is visual beholding (*muʿāyanah*).”<sup>115</sup> This process of the origin, growth and attainment of man’s trust in God is made explicit by a series of spiritual attitudes: “The beginning of the things (*awwal al-aṣyāʾ*) is gnosis (*maʿrifah*), then confession (*tauḥīd*), then submission (*islām*), then beneficence (*iḥsān*), then commitment (*tafwīd*), then trust in God (*tawakkul*), then self-abandonment unto God (*as-sukūn ilaʾl-ḥaqq*) in all states (*ḥālāt*).”<sup>116</sup>

Tustarī interprets the verse, “Thee only we serve” (1, 4) as carrying the literal meaning, “we surrender and humble ourselves” while in its mystical meaning, he takes it as meaning, “we confess Your lordship (*naʿtarifu bi-rubūbiyyatika*), profess Your Oneness (*nuwahḥiduka*) and serve You (*naḥdimuka*).”<sup>117</sup> Tustarī also rephrases the Qurʾānic invitation to the “People of the Book”: “Come now to a word between us and you, that we serve none but God” (3, 64) by saying: “Let us profess Him as one (*fa-nuwahḥidahu*) and serve none but Him (*lā naʿbuda illā iyyāhu*). The origin of worship (*aṣl al-ibādah*) is the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*) together with eating what is lawful (*akl al-ḥalāl*) and abstaining from sin (*kaff al-aḍā*).”<sup>118</sup>

As part of his commentary on Qurʾān 2, 257, Tustarī considers faith (*īmān*) as “the light (*nūr*) which God (*al-ḥaqq*) established in the hearts (*qulūb*) of the believers, and the light (*nūr*) of the intuition of certitude (*baṣīrat al-yaqīn*) by which they seek to perceive the profession of God’s oneness (*tauḥīd*) and the obedience (*ṭāʾah*) to Him in what He commanded and prohibited.”<sup>119</sup> In the Qurʾān, Moses instructs his people to present to God the sacrifice of a cow “with no blemish on her” (2, 71). Tustarī sees in her a symbol of the Creator’s wisdom for anyone “who takes a paradigm from her (*iʿtabara bihā*) and augments in certitude (*yaqīn*), because of his faith (*īmān*) and his profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*).”<sup>120</sup>

The passages examined in the preceding pages reveal the structure of Tustarī’s view of *tauḥīd*. On the Day of Covenant in pre-existence God

<sup>114</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 25.

<sup>115</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 31.

<sup>116</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 31.

<sup>117</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 7.

<sup>118</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>119</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17.

<sup>120</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 13.

manifested Himself before the prophets, the representatives of mankind, and made them testify to His divine lordship. This confession (*iqrār*) included on the part of man the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*), because God revealed Himself in His Unicity, bearing witness to Himself. By his profession of God's oneness man realizes and acknowledges God as one (*ḥaqīqat at-tauḥīd*). Whereas man realizes God's lordship (*rubūbiyyah*) by an act of gnosis (*ma'rifah*) in his inmost being (*sirr*), he professes God as one (*tauḥīd*) in his heart (*qalb*). The difficulty in interpreting Tustarī's notion of *tauḥīd* is included in the imprecision of the term, which may imply either the profession (*iqrār*) of God's oneness or the professed reality of God's oneness (*ḥaqīqah*) or both.

The heart (*qalb*) of man is "the house of the profession of God's oneness (*bait at-tauḥīd*)."<sup>121</sup> It is likened to an ocean (*baḥr*) which among other spiritual substances, holds "the precious substance of the profession of God's oneness (*ḡauhar at-tauḥīd*)."<sup>122</sup> "The east of the heart (*mašriq al-qalb*)" in particular is the seat of the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*).<sup>123</sup> Before creation, when God wrote the faith (*īmān*) into the hearts (*qulūb*) of His friends (*auliyā'*), the first line to be inscribed upon the heart was the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*).<sup>124</sup> The Creator also "deposited" in the heart (*qalb*) "the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) and the denial of His oneness (*ḡuhūd*)."<sup>125</sup> Heaven and earth, "an insight (*tabṣirah*) and a reminder (*dikrā*)" (Qur'ān 50, 8) for penitent men, are interpreted by Tustarī as "a paradigm (*i'tibār*) and an evidence (*istidlāl*) of their profession of the oneness (*tauḥīd*) of their Lord (*rabb*) and their thanksgiving (*ṣukr*) to Him."<sup>126</sup> The prototype and original seat of the profession of God's oneness as has been noted in the preceding chapter, is the heart of Muḥammad (*qalb Muḥammad*), which is the treasure mine of his profession of God's oneness (*ma'din tauḥīdihī*).

The proper religious attitude of man before God, that of an obedient servant (*abd*) before His omnipotent Lord, is based on two principles: the profession of God's Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and the imitation of the Prophet's example (*iqtidā'*). Tustarī's *Tafsīr* repeatedly emphasizes these two principles as the foundation stones of religious practice. To document this by a few examples quoted from the *Tafsīr*:

<sup>121</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 95 (with reference to Qur'ān 52, 4).

<sup>122</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97 (with reference to Qur'ān 55, 19).

<sup>123</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 96 f.; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 254 a/322 b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 297.

<sup>124</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 100; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 262 b/335 a.

<sup>125</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 106, (with reference to Qur'ān 67, 14); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 270 b/347 a.

<sup>126</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 92; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 254 b/309 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 270.

Tustarī interprets “the bounty (*faḍl*) and mercy (*raḥmah*) of God” (10, 58) as referring to “the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*) and His Prophet Muḥammad.”<sup>127</sup> The Qur’ānic words addressed to Muḥammad, “did we not exalt thy fame (*dīkr*)” (94, 4), are interpreted by Tustarī as meaning “We (God) linked (*waṣalnā*) your name (*ism*) with Our name (*bi-isminā*) in the recollection (*dīkr*) and the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*). Thus the servant’s faith (*īmān al-‘abd*) is not accepted until he believes in you.”<sup>128</sup> In interpretation of the Qur’ānic verse, “and among men there is such a one as serves God upon the very edge” (22, 11), Tustarī says: “The believer (*mu’min*) is a face (*waḡh*) without a back (*qafan*), a cellar (*karār*) without exit (*firār*). You see him struggle in the religion of God (*dīn Allāh*) and in obedience to Him (*ṭā’atihi*) by upholding his profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*), by his following the example of His Prophet, and by continuous supplication (*taḍarru’*) and taking of refuge (*laḡa’*) with God in the hope of joining Him (*ittiṣāl bihi*) from the place (*mauḍi’*) of following the example (of the Prophet).”<sup>129</sup>

“The utterance of the profession of God’s Oneness (*kalimat at-tauḥīd*)”<sup>130</sup> is identified by Tustarī with the root (*aṣl*) of the good deed of the believer (*‘amal al-mu’min*). In explanation of the verse, “a good word (*kalimah*) is like a good tree — its roots (*aṣl*) are firm and its branches (*far’*) are in heaven” (14, 24), Tustarī says: “The root (*aṣl*) of the believer’s deed (*‘amal al-mu’min*) is the utterance of the profession of God’s Oneness (*kalimat at-tauḥīd*). It is a firm root. Its branches (*far’*) are his deed (*‘amal*) that is raised to heaven . . . The root of his deed, that is the utterance of the profession of God’s Oneness (*kalimat at-tauḥīd*), does not move (*lā yazūlu*) just as the winds shake the twigs of the palm tree but its roots do not move . . . In God’s treasures (*ḥazā’in Allāh*) there is no greater one than the profession of God’s Oneness (*tauḥīd*).”<sup>131</sup> The *kalimat at-tauḥīd* includes the basic profession of faith of “there is no god but Allāh (*lā ilāh illa Allāh*)” as evidenced by Tustarī’s interpretation of the Qur’ānic term “the word of godfearing (*kalimat at-taqwā*)” (48, 26) which is “the utterance of ‘there is no god but Allāh’, for it is the peak of godfearing (*ra’s at-taqwā*).”<sup>132</sup> Tustarī also identifies it with the purity of intention before God (*iḥlās*).<sup>133</sup> Finally, the Prophet was sent as a witness (*ṣāhid*) of the profession of God’s

<sup>127</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>128</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 123.

<sup>129</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 64.

<sup>130</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122 (with reference to Qur’ān 92, 4).

<sup>131</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 52.

<sup>132</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 90.

<sup>133</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 111 (with reference to Qur’ān 72, 22) and *Tafsīr* 122 (with reference to Qur’ān 92, 6).

Oneness (*tauḥīd*) before mankind, and proclaimed: "I call you only to the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*)."<sup>134</sup>

So far it has been shown that the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) occupies a prominent place within the scope of the primordial Day of Covenant and represents a cornerstone of the religious practice of mystic man. In the world to come, beginning with the Day of Resurrection, *tauḥīd* is marked by features which integrate man's profession of God's oneness into his life in the permanence of the One God. On the Day of Resurrection, mystic man will acknowledge God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) and will be freed from his state of servanthip (*ta'abbud*). He will be rewarded for his profession of God's oneness with the encounter (*liqā'*) of God, with the theophanic revelation (*tagālli*) and with the beatific vision of God (*an-naẓar ila'l-ḥaqq*).

"On the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*)", when "the earth shall shine with the light of its Lord" (39, 69), then so Tustarī explains, "the hearts (*qulūb*) of the believers shall be resplendent with the profession of the Oneness of their Lord (*tauḥīd sayyidihi*) and with the imitation (*iqtidā'*) of the practice of their Prophet (*sunnah nabiiyyihim*)."<sup>135</sup> Then, in paradise, the believers shall say "praise belongs to God, who has been true in His promise to us" (39, 74) for, so Tustarī continues, "in paradise (*ḡannah*) their praise of God (*al-ḥamd minhum*) does not flow from their servanthip (*laisa 'alā ḡihat at-ta'abbud*) since servanthip (*ta'abbud*) has been taken away from them, just as the fear (*ḥauf*) of acquisition (*kasb*) and being cut off (from God, *qaṭ'*) has been taken away, and the fear of God's majesty (*iḡlāl*) and glory (*ta'ẓīm*) alone remains. Their praise of God is a mere delight for the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*), the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the intellect (*'aql*) and the heart (*qalb*)."<sup>136</sup>

The ultimate "reality (*ḥaqīqah*) of the profession of God's oneness (*tauḥīd*) is the vision of God (*an-naẓar ila'l-ḥaqq*)."<sup>137</sup> Thus, in the world to come, the profession of God's oneness is transformed into the joy of life in the everlasting presence of the Transcendent Reality. The profession of God's oneness has become unification with the One God in his manifestation of light. Man's attitude of *tauḥīd* in this world (his verbal profession of God as One and his total orientation towards God to the exclusion of any other and all else) reactualizes the primordial *tauḥīd* and anticipates the post-existential *tauḥīd*.

<sup>134</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 88 (with reference to Qur'ān 46, 9); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 235 b/296 b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 250.

<sup>135</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 82; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 220 a/278 b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 206.

<sup>136</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 82.

<sup>137</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 111 (with reference to Qur'ān 72, 22).

## 6. The Tripartite Knowledge of God

The knowledge (*'ilm*) of God is a privileged means of mystic man, by which he becomes aware of infinite reality. *'Ilm* in general denotes the reflective experience of knowledge by which man obtains a conceptual awareness and indirect grasp of God through rational pondering on the phenomena of sense-perception and through his recognition of the facts of prophetic revelation and tradition. But at no place in the *Tafsīr* does Tustarī discuss his conception of the knowledge of God with sufficient precision. Thus it seems impossible to decipher the contours of his understanding of *'ilm* from the occasional references in the *Tafsīr* and from certain stray references cited on Tustarī's authority in relevant Ṣūfī primary sources.

There are, however, three crucial statements in the *Tafsīr* (supported by parallel passages in classical Ṣūfī primary sources), which demonstrate a tripartite view of the knowledge of God, characteristic of Tustarī's range of mystical ideas. The three statements can be synchronized and understood as one pattern of man's intellectual grasp of infinite reality, and may be linked with Tustarī's view of the world of post-existence. All three statements seem to enumerate three degrees of perfection achieved by those possessed of knowledge of God.

The first statement distinguishes between those possessed of knowledge of God, His Commands and His Days. The Qur'ānic keynote for this statement, "the people of the remembrance (*ahl ad-dīkr*)" (21, 7) is interpreted by Tustarī in the *Tafsīr* as meaning "the people who have understanding of God (*ahl al-fahm 'an Allāh*): Those possessed of knowledge of God (*al-'ulamā' bi-llāh*), of His Commands (*bi-awāmirihī*), and of His Days (*bi-ayyāmihī*)."<sup>138</sup> The statement itself is probably influenced by Sufyān At-Taurī,<sup>139</sup> but its specific interpretation is characteristic of Tustarī. He says: "Those possessed of knowledge (*'ulamā'*) are of three (kinds): those who possess knowledge of God (but) not of God's Command nor of God's Days – these are the common believers (*'āmmat al-mu'minīn*); those who possess knowledge of God and of God's Command (but) not of God's Days – these are those possessed of knowledge (*'ulamā'*); and those who possess knowledge of God, of God's Command and of God's Days – these are the prophets (*nabiyyūn*) and the righteous (*ṣiddīqūn*)."<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 63; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 144b/183a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 42.

<sup>139</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 8.

<sup>140</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 63; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 36b/46a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 159; Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. *Köpr.* 727, ff. 64b–65a; cf. 46a–b; 65b–66a; Gazzālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, I, 81.

Another parallel reference also shows mystic man as possessed of the knowledge of God, His Commands and His Days. In his commentary on Qur'an 61, 2, Tustarī speaks of "two (groups) of servants of whom God takes charge (*yatawallā Allāh*) by His protection (*kifāyah*)": the "simple servant (*'abd sādīg*)" marked by trust in God (*mutawakkil 'alā Allāh*), whom His Master (*maulā*) will render righteous; and the "servant possessed of knowledge (*'abd 'ālim*) of God, His Days, His Command and His Interdiction" who, in all things of this world (*dunyā*), is protected by God and will find peaceful fulfilment (*istarāḥa*) in the world to come (*āḥirah*).<sup>141</sup> Makkī, with slight variations, quotes the same tripartite statement and explains the phrase "God's Days (*ayyām Allāh*)" as meaning "God's hidden blessing (*ni'mat Allāh al-bāṭinah*) and His concealed punishments (*'uqūbātuḥu al-ġāmiḍah*)."<sup>142</sup>

In this tripartition of knowledge of God, His Command, and His Days each subsequent state includes the perfection of knowledge achieved on the antecedent stage, so that prophetic and mystic man (*nabbiyyūn* and *ṣiddīqūn*) realize the threefold gradation within themselves.

The second statement, which is not recorded in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* but is cited by Makkī on Tustarī's authority, explains this threefold division as knowledge of God, as knowledge on account of God and as knowledge of God's decree. "Those possessed of knowledge (*'ulamā'*) are of three (kinds): one possessed of knowledge of God (*'ālim bi-llāh*), one possessed of knowledge on account of God (*'ālim li-llāh*), and one possessed of knowledge of God's decree (*'ālim bi-ḥukm Allāh*)."<sup>143</sup> The explanation of this statement equates the one who is possessed of knowledge of God with "the gnostic possessed of certitude (*al-'arīf al-mūqin*)", the one possessed of knowledge on account of God with "the one possessed of knowledge of sincerity (*ilm al-iḥlās*), mystical states (*aḥwāl*) and ways of conduct (*mu'āmalāt*)", and the one possessed of knowledge of God's decree with "the one who knows the distinction between what is lawful and unlawful (*tafṣīl al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām*)."<sup>144</sup>

The third statement is related to Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'anic phrase, "those firmly rooted in knowledge (*ar-rāsiḥūn fi'l-'ilm*)" (3, 7). The passage as quoted in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* is supported by variants in certain Ṣūfī primary sources and is elaborated by Tustarī's commentary on the verse "be you masters (*rabbāniyyīn*) in that you know the Book" (3, 79). The

<sup>141</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 102; *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 111a.

<sup>142</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 9; *Ilm al-qulūb*, 66.

<sup>143</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 8f.; *Ilm al-qulūb*, 66.

<sup>144</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 9; *Ilm al-qulūb*, 66.



two passages in the *Tafsīr* are inspired and illustrated by statements ascribed to 'Alī b Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661). The passage, in the *Tafsīr*, reads:

"They (those firmly rooted in knowledge) are those who are disclosed (*mukāṣafūn*) three kinds of knowledge ('*ulūm*), since those possessed of knowledge ('*ulamā*') are of three kinds: *rabbāniyyūn* (those who perceive God as Lord), *nūrāniyyūn* (those who perceive God as Light), and *ḍātiyyūn* (those who perceive God as Essence), in addition to four kinds of knowledge: scriptural revelation (*waḥy*), theophanic revelation (*taḡallī*), innate knowledge (*al-'indī*) and intuitive knowledge (*al-ladunnī*)."<sup>145</sup> Baqlī's variant considers the *rabbāniyyūn*, *nūrāniyyūn*, and *ḍātiyyūn* as representatives of three kinds of knowledge by unveiling (*mukāṣafah*), and determines scriptural revelation, theophanic revelation, innate knowledge and intuitive knowledge as the principles (*aḥkām*) of this knowledge.<sup>146</sup> Makkī has Tustarī enumerate "seven kinds of knowledge ('*ulūm*); three are unveiling (*mukāṣafah*) without mediation (*bilā wāsiṭah*), and four are by virtue of mediation (*bi-wāsiṭah*). The unveiling, (*kaṣf*) is '*ilm rabbānī* (knowledge which perceives God as Lord), '*ilm nūrānī* (knowledge which perceives God as Light), and '*ilm ḍātī* (knowledge which perceives God as Essence)."<sup>147</sup> Then Makkī lists '*ilm waḥy* (knowledge of scriptural revelation), '*ilm taḡallī* (knowledge of theophanic revelation), '*ilm 'indī* (innate knowledge), and '*ilm ladunnī* (intuitive knowledge), but probably, due to some corruption of the text, equates them with knowledge by virtue of mediation (*bi-wāsiṭah*).<sup>148</sup>

In his commentary on the verse 3, 79 Tustarī considers "those possessed of knowledge ('*ulamā*') as of three kinds: *rabbānī* (one who perceives God as Lord), *nūrānī* (one who perceives God as Light), and *ḍātī* (one who perceives God as Essence), without any intermediary (*wāsiṭah*) between him and God Almighty; there is a remainder (*baqiyyah*) from God in him."<sup>149</sup> In the same passage, Tustarī explains the *rabbāniyyūn* as "those raised high ('*ālūn*) in every degree of knowledge by virtue of knowledge ('*ilm*)" and understands the term as an etymological derivation from "lordship (*rubūbiyyah*)."<sup>150</sup> Either Tustarī himself or his uncle Muḥammad b Sawwār is quoted as defining the *rabbānī* as "one who does not choose as his Lord (*rabb*) anyone but Him,"<sup>151</sup> while Tustarī's disciple 'Umar b

<sup>145</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 24.

<sup>146</sup> Baqlī, '*Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 69.

<sup>147</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 84.

<sup>148</sup> Makkī, '*Ilm al-qulūb*, 84f.

<sup>149</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>150</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>151</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 23a/28a; Baqlī, '*Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 89 quoting Tustarī; Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26, quoting Muḥammad b Sawwār.

Wāṣil comments: “The *rabbāniyyūn* are the collectivity of those possessed of knowledge (*al-mağmū’ min al-‘ulamā’*).”<sup>152</sup> The somewhat disjointed passage is rounded off by statements of Muḥammad b Al-Ḥanafīyyah (d. 81/700), who considers ‘Abd Allāh b ‘Abbās (d. 68/687) as “the *rabbānī* of this community (*ummah*)” by virtue of his knowledge (*‘ilm*) of God, and ‘Alī b Abī Ṭālib, who classifies mankind (*nās*) into three types: ‘*ālim rabbānī* (one who, in knowledge, perceives God as Lord), *muta’allim ‘alā sabīl an-nağāt* (an apprentice on the way of salvation), and *hamağ ra’ā*’ (the common crowd that follows everybody and his brother).<sup>153</sup>

The item of commentary on the Qur’ānic keynote *rabbāniyyūn* (3, 79) which is attributed to Tustarī in Sulamī’s *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr* and in Baqlī’s ‘*Arā’is al-bayān*’ links the third statement with the first, for it reads: “The *rabbānī* (one who perceives God as Lord) is one possessed of knowledge of God (*‘ālim bi-llāh*), one possessed of knowledge of God’s Command (*‘ālim bi-amr Allāh*), and one to whom is disclosed intuitive knowledge (*min al-‘ilm al-ladunnī*) which is concealed from other than him.”<sup>154</sup>

The most obvious interpretation of these three statements, which avoids textual inconsistencies, seems to be the following. *Rabbānī*, *nūrānī*, and *ḍātī* denote three ways of the immediate perception of God on the part of mystic man, who grasps infinity as the divine Lord, Light and Essence. Each one and all three together comprise a tripartite knowledge, namely that of God (*bi-llāh*), of His Command (*bi-amr Allāh* and *li-llāh*), and of His Days (*bi-ayyām Allāh* and *bi-ḥukm Allāh*). It might be suggested that the “days of God” not only refer to the magnalia of God in the world but also to the Day of Covenant and the Day of Specks as well as to the Day of Judgment and the Day of Resurrection, as the two antipodal events upon which God’s decree (*ḥukm*) was established and will be revealed. Man’s grasp of God as Lord (*rabb*), Light (*nūr*), and Essence (*ḍāt*) might then also denote an ever fuller knowledge of God in his attributes on the part of mystic man. Seen against the background of primordial covenant (*mītāq*) and post-existential theophany (*tağallī*), the spiritual knowledge achieved by mystic man reactualizes his primal past and anticipates his eschatological future.

The stenographic recordings in the *Tafsīr* and the disjointed references in the Ṣūfī primary sources constitute fragmentary yet solid and firm evidence in favour of Tustarī’s view about the grasp of infinity achieved by mystic man. The actual and real presence of God is realized in the secret of the mystic’s soul as the root of his self-identity, communicated to man by his Lord on the Day of Covenant in pre-existence, and is grasped in the

<sup>152</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>153</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 26.

<sup>154</sup> Sulamī, *Ḥaqā’iq at-tafsīr*, 23 a/28 a; Baqlī, ‘*Arā’is al-bayān*’, I, 89.

certitude of his ultimate destiny as the consummation of permanent subsistence with the Transcendent Reality, to be revealed to man in the face to face encounter with God in post-existence upon the Day of Resurrection.

In the world of creation, the mystic thus lives in the reactualization of his primordial past and in the anticipation of his ultimate future. In daily prayer and recollection of God, in the practice of works of obedience and pure intention, and in the express profession of God's oneness in thought, speech and action, mystic man revives the memory and enlivens the hope of his course from primordial infinity to ultimate infinity. In this process mystic man rediscovers in his soul the traces of his pristine perfection as a particle of light that issues from the primal being of the light of Muḥammad, and discerns his luminous perfection as including the divine gift of guidance and gnosis, certitude and faith. Although mystic man reaches out to primordial and ultimate infinity through the ways of his knowledge, he has to grapple continuously with the forces of his soul, in which the God-centered inclination of the heart has to overcome the self-centered tendencies of the carnal self.

## Chapter VI

### The Struggle for Infinity in the Soul of Mystic Man

Man, in his mystical experience, perceives his soul as the theater of a struggle between two antagonistic tendencies within himself. The God-centered orientation of his heart (*qalb*) is continuously challenged and opposed by the self-centered inclination of his lower self (*nafs*). This struggle is peculiar to man in his phenomenal existence in the world of creation. In his primordial state of a particle of light, man exists, so to speak, as a pure spirit or a pure intellect, in Tustarī's language, as "specks possessed of intellects (*ad-darr lahum 'uqūl*).” In his ultimate state man lives in the permanent subsistence with God as one of His intimates and friends (*auliyā*). In the world of creation man, the believing creature and obedient servant (*abd*), is put to the test by God, who challenges man's primordial profession of divine lordship and the divinely infused gifts of his soul through the forces of man's lower self. Thus mystic man realizes his pristine perfection and ultimate destiny within his soul, re-discovers his pre-existential identity and, in anticipation, experiences his post-existential identity. To express it in succinct language: the intellect (*aql*), become servant (*abd*), aspires to be friend (*wali*). This aspiration however, does not denote the mere possibility of attainment and final consummation, but is virtually assured from primordial ages through God's spiritual constitution of mystic man.

We try to unravel these ideas from the stenographic recordings in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and the supporting evidence in Šūfī primary sources, and proceed firstly, by demonstrating the spiritual constitution of mystic man, and secondly, by discerning the various facets which compose Tustarī's view of the antagonistic forces in the soul of man.

#### 1. The Spiritual Constitution of Mystic Man

Tustarī's view of the spiritual constitution of mystic man rests on three basic convictions: mystic man participates in the primordial emanation of light, is divinely elected as intimate and friend of God, and is granted

divinely infused and charismatic gifts. This spiritual constitution sets mystic man apart from the general run of the Muslim people, but also admits of an internal gradation of perfection of God's friends, who at the same time are understood as clearly distinct from God's prophets.

As noted in Chapter IV, the prophets and the prototypes of mystic man, namely the *murādūn* (the "divinely-desired" or spiritual masters), issue from the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) in the world of pre-existence.<sup>1</sup> As part of his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse 6, 125, Tustarī equates the *murād* and the *murīd* (the "God-seeker" or spiritual disciple) with the elect (*ḥuṣūṣ*) and the common people (*'umūm*). Whereas the elect, as the object of God's desire (*murād*), reach "the highest stages (*maqāmāt*) and loftiest ranks (*darağāt*)" and experience God's care (*qiyām Allāh*) for man, the common folk, in their quest of God (*murīd*), remain in search of the path (*ṭarīq*) to God, because they strive to (attain to) God by performing their religious duty (*farḍ*), by asking forgiveness for their sins (*ḍanb*) and by seeking seclusion from mankind (*as-salāmah min al-ḥalq*).<sup>2</sup> The distinction between the *murīd* and the *murād* also appears in ms. Köpr. 727, where Şaqalī qualifies the *murīd* by man's spiritual struggle (*mukābadah*) whereas he considers the *murād* as man having achieved the state of relief (*tashīl*) from this struggle<sup>3</sup> and as being content with whatever state God (*ḥaqq*) brings about within him.<sup>4</sup> Şaqalī also differentiates the *murīd*, who desires God (*ḥaqq*) by virtue of God, from the *murād*, who is desired by God.<sup>5</sup>

The *murīd*, who desires God's countenance, and the *murād*, whom God desires, represent the two basic types of man's spiritual attainment. Tustarī frequently uses the terms *ḥuṣūṣ* and *'umūm* (the elect and the common people), *auliyā'* and *'ibād* (the friends and the servants of God), and *ṣiddīqūn* and *mu'minūn* (the righteous and the believers) as denoting these two types of men. But at no point in the *Tafsīr* does Tustarī attempt to discuss the distinction between these two types to any significant degree. A long passage in Abū Nu'aim's *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, however, has Tustarī extol the elevated position of the spiritual elite among God's servants. The

<sup>1</sup> Tustarī, Sahl b 'Abd Allāh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, Cairo, 1329/1911, p. 41; Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Ilm al-qulūb*, Cairo 1384/1964, p. 94; Dailamī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b Muḥammad, *Kitāb 'Atf al-alif al-ma'lūf 'ala'l-lām al-ma'tūf* (ed. J. C. Vadet), Cairo 1962, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Tustarī, *Kitāb al-mu'araḍah wa'r-radd 'alā ahl al-firaq wa-ahl ad-da'awā fi'l-aḥwāl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 223b.

<sup>4</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 223b.

<sup>5</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 239b.

passage is structured in the form of God's address to Adam, the father of mankind, and summarizes a series of excellent qualities, characteristics of the friends of God. In this address Adam is perceived as a corporate personality who enshrines mystic man within his loins.

"O Adam, I am God (*Allāh*), there is no god save Me. Whoever puts his hope in other than My favour (*faḍlī*) and fears other than My justice (*'adlī*), has no knowledge of Me (*lā ya' rifunī*). O Adam, among my servants I have those who are chosen (*ṣafwah*), cherished (*danā'in*), and choicest (*ḥīrah*) whom I have lodged within your loins (*ṣalb*). They are like (the apple) of my eye among My creation (*ḥalqī*). I make them mighty through My might (*'izzī*). I draw them near to union with Me (*waṣlī*). I grant them My mark of honour (*karāmatī*). I disclose to them My favour (*faḍlī*). I make their hearts (*qulūb*) the treasure troves of My Scriptures (*kutubī*). I shield them with My mercy (*raḥmatī*). I prepare for them a (place of) safety (*amān*) in the midst of My servants. So, through them I make rain fall from the sky, through them I make sprout the earth, and through them I turn away affliction (*balā'*). They are My friends (*auliyā'ī*) and My beloved (*aḥibbā'ī*). High are their ranks (*darağāt*) and lofty their stages (*maqāmāt*). Attached to Me are their inner drives (*himam*) and sound are their resolutions (*'azā'im*). Constant is their meditation (*fikrah*) upon the kingdom of My mystery (*malakūt ḡaibī*) and dedicated to My remembrance (*ḍikrī*) are their hearts (*qulūb*). So I give them My pure love (*maḥabbatī*) to drink with (Me) the cup of intimacy (*uns*). Persistent is their longing (*ṣauq*) for encounter with Me (*liqā'ī*), even stronger is My longing for them. O Adam, whoever among My creation (*ḥalqī*) seeks Me, finds Me, and whoever seeks any other than Me, does not find Me. For, O Adam, theirs is thrice a blessed resort (*tūbā lahum*) and a beautiful recourse (*ma'āb*). O Adam, when I behold them, it becomes easy for Me to forgive the sins (*ḍunūb*) of the sinners because of the honour (*karāmah*) in which I hold them."<sup>6</sup>

God elects His prophets and friends prior to their creation through an act of His choice (*iḥtiyār*) and the granting of His friendship (*walāyah*) by which He takes charge (*tawallā*) and possession (*istawallā*) of mystic man. A few passages in the *Tafsīr* illustrate this idea.

In his commentary on the Qur'ānic passage 56, 10–14, Tustarī interprets "the Outstrippers (*as-sābiqūn*)" (56, 10) as "those on whom God primordially conferred (*sabaqa*) election (*iḥtiyār*) and friendship (*walāyah*) before their existention (*qabla kaunihim*), those brought near in the

<sup>6</sup> Abū Nu'aim, Aḥmad b 'Abd Allāh Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā' wa-ṭabaqāt al-asfiyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351/1932–1357/1938; cf. X, 193f.

stations of nearness (*manāzil al-qurb*) and the breath of intimacy (*rūḥ al-uns*), i. e. those who were first to arrive in this world (*dunyā*). For the prophets (*anbiyā'*) were first to approach the faith in God, and the righteous (*ṣiddiqīn*), the martyrs among the (Prophet's) Companions and others like them, were first to approach the faith in the prophets."<sup>7</sup> He further identifies these divinely elect with "a group of the forbears (*firqah min al-awwalīn*)" (56, 13) who are the people of gnosis (*ahl al-ma'rifah*), and 'a throng of the later folk (*tullah min al-āḥirīn*)' (56, 14), who believe in Muḥammad, all Messengers (*rusul*) and Scriptures (*kutub*)."<sup>8</sup>

Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic phrase, "your friend (*walī*) is only God and His messenger, and the believers" (5, 55), specifies this divine election as God's act of taking man into His possession, and understands the Prophet's friendship for the believers as a consequence of this divine friendship. The passage, reconstructed on the basis of the *Tafsīr* and Baqlī's 'Arā'is al-bayān reads: "The friendship of God (*walāyat Allāh*) is the election (*iḥtiyār*) of one of whom He takes possession (*istawlāhu*). The friendship of the Prophet (*walāyat ar-rasūl*) is God's notification of the Prophet that he is the friend of the believers (*walī al-mu'minīn*). Thus the Prophet is bound to be a friend (*yuwālā*) of one whose friend is God (*man walā Allāh*)."<sup>9</sup> In ms. Köpr. 727 Tustarī depicts God as the One who "takes charge of you (*yatawallāka*)"<sup>10</sup> and who "took charge (*tawallā*) of the beginning of the life (of the soul) in order to (also) take charge (*yatawallā*) of the end of her life."<sup>11</sup> Tustarī also takes the Qur'ānic phrase "God is the Protector (*walī*) of the believers" (2, 257) as a reference to "the friendship of contentment (*walāyat ar-riḍā*), for God is the One who takes care and charge (*al-mutawallī*) of them by foreordaining (*sabaqa*) for them His guidance (*hidāyah*) and His gnosis (*ma'rifah*) according to their profession of His oneness (*tauḥīd*)."<sup>12</sup>

God not only selects mystic man by his predilection and primordial choice, He also receives His friends into paradise without having them account for their actions on the Day of Reckoning (*yaum al-ḥisāb*). This is unequivocally stated in Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse, "now

<sup>7</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97; Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, ms. Fātiḥ 262, f. 256 a; ms. Br. Mus. Or. 9433, f. 325 a; Baqlī, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b Abī Naṣr, 'Arā'is al-bayān fī ḥaqā'iq al-Qur'ān, 2 vols., Cawnpore 1301 A. H.; cf. II, 391.

<sup>8</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 256 a/325 b.

<sup>9</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 33; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 184.

<sup>10</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 229 b; 239 b.

<sup>11</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 206 a.

<sup>12</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17.

by thy Lord, We shall surely question them all together" (15, 92). Down-playing the stringency of this verse, Tustarī cites a tradition of the Prophet which has the friends of God (*auliyā*) proceed directly to paradise from their graves without being halted for "the reckoning." He says: "There is a particularity (*ḥuṣūṣ*) in this verse. For there are people in this community (*ummah*) who are gathered from the grave (*qabr*) to paradise (*ḡannah*) and are neither present at the reckoning (*ḥisāb*) nor aware of the horrors (*ahwāl*, of hell). They are those of whom God said, 'they shall be kept far from it' (21, 101). The Prophet said that the friends of God (*auliyā* *Allāh*) depart directly from their graves (*qubūr*) to paradise (*ḡannah*). They do not halt for the reckoning (*ḥisāb*) and do not fear the length of that Day (*yaum*). They are those who proceed first (*sābiqūn*) to paradise. God is pleased with them and they are content with Him. This is the great triumph (*al-fawz al-'azīm*)."<sup>13</sup> Finally, at the revelation of unveiling in the world to come, the friends of God (*auliyā*) will live in permanent subsistence with the Subsistent One (*al-bāqī*).<sup>14</sup>

The friends of God are also depicted by Tustarī as the recipients of the revelation of God's signs (*āyāt*). For the Qur'ānic verse, "and He (God) shows you His signs (*āyāt*), then which of God's signs do you reject" (40, 81), is interpreted by Tustarī: "God makes manifest the signs (*āyāt*) to His friends (*auliyā*), and He makes happy the man (*sa'id*) who believes in them (giving his assent) to their charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*). He renders the eyes of the damned ones (*aṣṣiqiyā*) blind to these (gifts) and turns their hearts away from Him. Whoever denies the signs of the friends (*āyāt al-auliyā*), denies God's omnipotence (*qudrat Allāh*). For it is God's omnipotence which reveals the signs to the friends; on their own they are incapable of revealing them."<sup>15</sup>

One of the conspicuous gifts which God confers upon His friends (*auliyā*) is the mystical understanding of the Qur'ān (*fahm al-Qur'ān*). Thus Tustarī states in the introduction to his *Tafsīr* that people of mystical understanding of the Qur'ān have no ambition for enrapture or vocal affectation during the recital of the Qur'ān. "Their spiritual striving (*himam*) is the comprehension (*tafahhum*) and search of augmentation (*ṭalab al-mazid*) from God in understanding His command and interdiction, namely the precepts (*aḥkām*) of His religious obligation (*fard*) and His Prophet's practice (*sunnah*). They act according to their knowledge (*'ilm*)

<sup>13</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 54.

<sup>14</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 85 (with reference to Qur'ān 43, 69–70); Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 233 a/293 b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 242.

<sup>15</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 83; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 224 a/283 a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 216.



of God, pray for God's succour and persevere in His ways of conduct (*ādāb*) . . . so that God invests them (*yaksikum*) with mystical understanding (*fahm*) and spiritual discernment (*fiṭnah*) by (an act of His) grace (*tafaḍḍul*) . . . they are those to whom God has given mystical understanding of the Qur'ān (*fahm al-Qur'ān*); they are God's elect (*ḥāṣṣat Allāh*) and His friends (*auliyā'uḥu*). They are not (given) to this world (*dunyā*) nor does this world have any part in them, nor do they covet paradise (*ḡannah*). When this world is taken away from them, they do not care; when it is offered to them they refuse it as their Prophet refused it when it was displayed to him. They throw themselves before God in contentment (*riḍā*) and confident abandonment (*sukūn*) to Him, and say: 'there is no escape for us from You; You, we desire none other save You.'"<sup>16</sup>

The understanding of the Qur'ān achieved by the mystic is viewed by Tustarī as an act of God's opening up insights into the divine word before the hearts of His friends. For he states, man "only understands (*innamā yafhamu*) to the extent to which God discloses (*'alā qadr mā yaftaḥu Allāh*) to the hearts of His friends (*'alā qulūb auliya'ihī*) concerning the understanding of His speech (*min fahm kalāmihi*)."<sup>17</sup> Tustarī is also quoted in the introduction to the *Tafsīr* as saying: "God does not appoint anyone of Muḥammad's community (*ummah*) as a friend (*istawla walīyan*) except in order to teach him the Qur'ān according to its exoteric (*zāhir*) and esoteric meaning (*bāṭin*)."<sup>18</sup>

In his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse 10, 62, Tustarī considers the *auliyā'* as the real and true believers, who exist as a reminder of God, and who achieve a total harmony of action. But he also discerns a gradation of perfection among these "friends of God", who as "substitutes (*abdāl*)" are in persistent progress towards perfection, and as "pegs (*autād*)" have accomplished their spiritual attainment. Whereas Tustarī views the *abdāl* and *autād* as ranks of perfection of mystic man, he associates himself with a group which makes this spiritual gradation a point of doctrine. A section which seems partially to be an interpolation, raises the claim to Tustarī's spiritual superiority to all these ranks of perfection and depicts him as "the proof of God", "the spiritual axis" and "the peer to the Companions of the Prophet."

Commenting on "surely God's friends (*auliyā' Allāh*) – no fear shall be on them neither shall they sorrow" (10, 62), Tustarī says: "They are those

<sup>16</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3.

<sup>17</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60 (with reference to *Qur'ān*, 18, 109); Sarrāḡ, Abū Naṣr 'Abd Allāh b 'Alī, *Al-Lum'a' fi't-taṣawwuf* (ed. R. A. Nicholson with introduction), Leiden 1914, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 5.

whom the Prophet described (as being) 'those who, when they are seen, God is remembered' (*allādina idā ru'ū dukira Allāh*). They are those who struggle for God (*al-muğāhidūn fi-Allāh*) and arrive first at Him (*as-sābiqūn ilaihi*). They are those whose actions (*af'āl*) constantly progress towards consistency (*muwāfaqah*) – those are the real believers (*al-mu'minūn haqqan*).<sup>19</sup>

Then Tustarī continues: "All good (*ḥair*) is included in these four (points) by which they become substitutes (*abdāl*): empty bellies (*iḥmāṣ al-buṭūn*), seclusion from mankind (*i'tizāl 'an al-ḥalq*), nightly vigils (*sahar al-lail*), and silence (*ṣamt*)."<sup>20</sup> Asked why the substitutes are called substitutes (*abdāl*), he answered: "Because they keep substituting (*yubaddilūna*) the mystical states (*aḥwāl*, one after the other). They subdue their bodies (*abdān*) with vigor (*'ala'l-ḥīl*) in their inmost being (*sirr*). Thereupon they do not cease to move from state to state (*ḥāl*) and from knowledge to knowledge (*'ilm*). Thus they are always increasing (*mazīd*) in the knowledge concerning that which obtains between them and their Lord (*rabb*)."<sup>21</sup> As to the question, whether the *autād* or the *abdāl* represent the more excellent (*afḍal*) spiritual rank, Tustarī opts for the *autād*, "because the pegs (*autād*) have attained it all (*qad balaḡū*), and their principles have been firmly established, whereas the substitutes keep turning (*yanqalibūna*) from state to state (*ḥāl*)."<sup>22</sup>

Finally the passage records two statements of Tustarī: "I met one thousand five hundred righteous (*ṣiddiq*), among them forty substitutes (*budalā'*) and seven pegs (*autād*). Their path (*ṭarīqah*) and their way (*maḍhab*) is the same as mine."<sup>23</sup> "I am the proof of God (*ḥuḡḡat Allāh*) for you in particular (*ḥāṣṣatan*) and for the people in general (*'āmmatan*)."<sup>24</sup> A paragraph (apparently an anonymous gloss to the text) considers Tustarī as the spiritual axis of the world, "the pole (*quṭb*) around which revolves the millstone (*raḥan*)",<sup>25</sup> and the peer to the Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) of the Prophet.

This last paragraph is supported by an anecdote, related by Ṣaḡalī on the authority of Abū Bakr Al-Ḥurasānī and Ġa'far Al-Ḥuldī (d. 348/959),

<sup>19</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>20</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46; Makkī, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b 'Alī, *Qūt al-qulūb fi mu'āmalāt al-maḥbūb wa-waṣf ṭarīq al-murīd ilā maqām at-tauḥīd*, 4 vols., Cairo 1351/1932; cf. I, 142; I, 145.

<sup>21</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>22</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>23</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

<sup>24</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46; Ṣa'rānī, 'Abd Al-Wahhāb, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2 vols., Cairo 1355/1936; I, 67.

<sup>25</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 46.

concerning a dream vision of Tustarī's election at the head of the "lovers of God." Ṣaḡalī has Tustarī say: "In a dream (*manām*) I saw two angels (*malakain*) descend from heaven, one of them holding an inkpot (*miḥbarah*) and a sheet of paper (*qirtās*) in his hand. I asked them, what do you write? They replied, we write down the names of lovers of God (*muḥibbīn*). I said, write me down among the lovers of God. They replied, you do not belong there. I said, then write me down among the lovers of the lovers of God (*min muḥibbī al-muḥibbīn*). But they turned me down. Then, he continued to narrate, it was as if I had hit my head in sleep (*naum*), that is to say out of grief and distress. And behold, there was an angel (*malak*) or a caller (*ṣā'ih*) – I am not sure which one of the two – who said, write down Sahl at the head of the lovers of God (*fī awwal al-muḥibbīn*)."<sup>26</sup>

There are only a few passages in the *Tafsīr* where Tustarī hints at the differentiation between the prophets (*anbiyā'*) and the friends of God (*auliyā'*). As far as it can be gathered from adumbrations in the *Tafsīr* and in Kalābādī's *Ta'arruf*, Tustarī holds the view of a basic affinity and difference between prophetic and mystic man. Tustarī discovers the basic criteria for the distinction of these two classes of men in their degree of proximity to God's throne, and in their spiritual function in the world of creation. Both prophetic and mystic man participate in the primordial emanation of divine light (*nūr*), both penetrate to the divine circumference of God's throne (*'ars*), and both represent reminders (*tadkīrah*) of God among mankind.

As has been noted above in the discussion of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*), the prophets (*anbiyā'*) and mystics (*auliyā'*; *murādūn*) ultimately emanate from the primordial shaft of light, which represents Muḥammad in his pristine perfection. But the prophets and mystics are also depicted by Tustarī as penetrating, to a varying degree, to the actual presence of God, as they are driven by their spiritual energy into the field of attraction of God's throne. Thus Tustarī says:

"The spiritual drives (*himam*) of the gnostics (*'ārifīn*) reach as far as the veils (*ḥuḡub*) and they there halt, with glance cast down. Then they are given leave to enter; they enter and make greeting. They are clothed with the robes (*ḥila'*) of confirmation (*ta'yīd*) and are given passing-permits (*barā'āt*) written on slips of paper (*ruqa'*). The spiritual drives of the prophets (*anbiyā'*), however, move around the throne (*'ars*) and are clothed with lights (*anwār*). The lots of fate (*aqdār*) are taken away from them and they are united with (*ittaṣalat*) the Almighty (*ḡabbār*). He makes their pleasures (*ḥuḏūḏ*) pass, strips off their design (*murād*), causing them to be

<sup>26</sup> Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 208 b f.

controlled by Him and towards Him (alone)."<sup>27</sup> Another saying of Tustarī, which immediately follows the preceding statement in the *Tafsīr*, confirms this spiritual superiority of the prophets, for Tustarī says: "the last of the ranks (*daraġāt*) of the righteous (*ṣiddīqīn*) is the first of the states (*aḥwāl*) of the prophets (*anbiyā*)."<sup>28</sup>

In another passage of the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī illustrates the penetration to God's throne and its failure on the part of the "believers" and the "hypocrites". He says: "The intellects of the believers (*'uqūl al-mu'minīn*) complete the journey to the throne (*'ars*). There they are greeted and surrounded by the peculiar qualities of His (God's) decree (*ṭarā'if ḥukmihi*) and by the specimens of His sanctity (*funūn birrihi*). The intellects of the hypocrites (*'uqūl al-munāfiqīn*) are headed (for the throne) but when they reach (the veils) and desire the mysteries (*ġuyūb*), they are rejected, turned upside down, as God said: 'and whom God leads astray, thou wilt not find for him a way' (4, 148; cf. 4, 88)."<sup>29</sup> An allusion to the penetration of mystic man to the divine circumference is also found in ms. Köpr. 727 and as part of the commentary on Qur'ān 19, 85, where Tustarī is on record as saying: "these hearts (*qulūb*) are vagrants (*ġawwālah*); they either wander around God's throne (*'ars*) or they roam about in the garden (*ḥaṣṣ*)."<sup>30</sup>

As noted above, the prophets and friends are favoured by God's election in pre-existence, but "the prophets (*anbiyā*) were first to approach the faith in God, whereas the righteous (*ṣiddīqīn*), the martyrs among (the Prophet's) Companions, and others like them were first to approach the faith in the prophets."<sup>31</sup> In his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, "God would never change His favour (*ni'mah*) that He conferred on a people" (8, 53), Tustarī also notes that "God favoured the prophets (*anbiyā*) and some of the righteous (*ṣiddīqīn*) with a gnosis (*ma'rifah*), which God conferred upon them prior to its extinction (*zawāl*), and with God's decree (*ḥukm Allāh*) concerning them."<sup>32</sup>

Both the prophets and the mystics fulfill the function of being reminders (*tadkirah*) of God among mankind in the world of creation. But while the friends of God are only referred to by their task of recalling God's presence, the prophets in addition to being reminders of God are also

<sup>27</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 48 (with reference to Qur'ān 11, 40); Kalābādī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li-maḍhab ahl at-taṣawwuf*, (ed. A. J. Arberry), Cairo 1934, p. 42; tr. A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, Cambridge 1935, p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 48 (also attributed to other Ṣūfis).

<sup>29</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 32.

<sup>30</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 61; Tustarī, *Mu'araḍah*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 230 a.

<sup>31</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 256 a/325 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 301.

<sup>32</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 43; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 68 b/86 b (corrupted text?).

charged with the express propagation (*tablīg*) of the faith in God. Two passages in the *Tafsīr* allude to this affinity and difference of the spiritual task on the part of the mystics and prophets. In one passage Tustarī states: “(God) sent (*ba’ata*) the prophets (*anbiyā*) in order to remind them (mankind, *li-yadkurahum*) of His compact (*’ahd*) and His covenant (*mīṭaq*).”<sup>33</sup> The other passage, a commentary on the Qur’ānic phrase “a reminding (*ḍikrā*)” (6, 69), reads: “God put the task (*aḥada*) of being the reminder (*tadkīrah*) for His servants (*’ibād*) upon His friends (*auliyā*), just as He put the task of propagation (*tablīg*) upon His prophets (*anbiyā*). It is up to the friends of God (*auliyā’ Allāh*) to show the way to Him (*an yadullū ’alaihi*). So, when they renounce this (task), they are neglectful (*muqaṣṣirīn*).”<sup>34</sup> Thus the existence of mystic man in the world of creation is understood by Tustarī as symbolically pointing to God, whose presence the mystic recalls to his fellow beings.

Three statements of Tustarī, cited in Ṣūfī primary sources, depict the gradation of the prophets and friends of God as part of a spiritual hierarchy of beings. The first statement attributes a peculiar spiritual gift to each rank: “The signs (*āyāt*) pertain to God (*Allāh*), the miracles (*mu’ǧizāt*) to the prophets (*anbiyā*) and the charismatic gifts (*karāmāt*) to the friends (*auliyā*) and the best of the Muslims.”<sup>35</sup> Each rank has its particular “livelihood (*’aiš*)”: “The livelihood of the angels (*malā’ikah*) consists in obedience (*ṭā’ah*), that of the prophets (*anbiyā*) in knowledge (*’ilm*) and the expectation of revelation (*intizār al-wahy*), that of the righteous (*ṣiddīqīn*) in the emulation (of the Prophet, *iqtidā’*), and that of the rest of the people (*sā’ir an-nās*) – be they learned (*’ālim*) or ignorant (*ǧāhil*), ascetic (*zāhid*) or devoted (*’ābid*) – consists in food (*akl*) and drink (*šurb*).”<sup>36</sup> Similarly, each rank has its peculiar means of subsistence: “Austerity (*ḍarūrah*) pertains to the prophets (*anbiyā*), sustenance (*qiwām*) belongs to the righteous (*ṣiddīqīn*), the daily diet (*qūt*) is for the believers (*mu’minīn*), and the fixed portion (*ma’lūm*) is for the animals (*bahā’im*).”<sup>37</sup>

The fragmentary evidence of the *Tafsīr* concerning Tustarī’s view of the spiritual constitution of mystic man establishes the participation of mystic man in the primordial emanation of light, his divine election as

<sup>33</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 40 (with reference to *Qur’ān* 7, 172).

<sup>34</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 35; Baqlī, *’Arā’is al-bayān*, I, 217.

<sup>35</sup> Sarrāǧ *Luma’* 315; Abū Nu’aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, X, 198f.; Sulamī, Abū ’Abd Ar-Raḥman Muḥammad b Al-Ḥusain, *Ṭabaqāt as-ṣūfiyyah* (ed. J. Pedersen with introduction); Leiden 1960 p. 204f.

<sup>36</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 205; Abū Nu’aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, X, 198.

<sup>37</sup> Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 205; Abū Nu’aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliyā*, X, 198.

God's intimate and friend, his distinction through innate and charismatic gifts, his mystical insight into the meaning of the Qur'ān, his special rank in the proximity of God's throne, and his symbolic existence among mankind as a reminder of God. The *Tafsīr* also refers to an inner gradation of perfection of mystic man and discerns an affinity and difference in the ranks of a prophet and a mystic. The evidence of the *Tafsīr* remains scanty and thus merely adumbrates a view implicit in Tustarī's range of mystical ideas.

## 2. The Two Basic Forces in the Soul of Man

Tustarī discerns two fundamental and antagonistic forces within the soul of mystic man: a positive force, the heart (*qalb*), which turns man towards God, and a negative force, the lower self (*nafs*), which induces man to turn toward his own ego. On the basis of these two principles Tustarī develops a spiritual psychology of mystic man which testifies to a high degree of mystical awareness and introspection, is marked by an elaborate edifice of expression and terminology, and is deeply rooted in his mystical experience as mediated by the Qur'ān. The great number of references to these two psychic forces in Tustarī's *Tafsīr* and their crucial function within his mystical experience demonstrate Tustarī's spiritual psychology as one of the most prominent and leading ideas of the whole work.

In the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī employs different technical terms for the two mutually contrary forces of *qalb* and *nafs*. He uses the terms *qalb* (heart), *rūḥ* (spirit), and *nafs ar-rūḥ* (spiritual self) with reference to the positive psychic force, whereas he speaks about *nafs* (self), *ṭab'* (nature, natural disposition, instinct), and *nafs at-ṭab'* (natural self) when he refers to the negative psychic force. A few brief quotations from the *Tafsīr* show how Tustarī discovers these two principles on the hidden plane of Qur'ānic meaning and how he views their duality as separate, antagonistic principles and their unity as complementary forces of man's soul.

Tustarī understands "the two seas that meet together" (55, 19) as a reference to the heart (*qalb*) and the self (*nafs*).<sup>38</sup> He perceives behind the Qur'ānic reference to "the forenoon" and "the night" (93, 1–2) the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*).<sup>39</sup> Similarly, "the night" and "the day", mentioned in Qur'ān

<sup>38</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97.

<sup>39</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122.

92, 1–2 and 57, 6 are equated with the *nafs at-ṭab'* and the *nafs ar-rūḥ*.<sup>40</sup> From the Qur'ānic verse, "and (when) the sun and moon are brought together" (75, 9) Tustarī derives the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*): "the moon is the light (*nūr*) of the vision (*baṣar*) of the eye of the head (*'ain ar-ra's*) which is proper to the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*); the sun is the light (*nūr*) of the vision (*baṣar*) of the heart (*qalb*) which is proper to the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the intellect (*'aql*)."<sup>41</sup> He explains: "the Last and the First" (92, 13) as "the Last is the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the First is the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*); one leads to the spiritual self and the other to the natural self."<sup>42</sup> In the Qur'ānic terms, "the witness (*shāhid*)" and "the witnessed (*maṣhūd*)" (85, 3) lies hidden the meaning of the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*).<sup>43</sup> Tustarī also interprets the Qur'ānic verse, "when the souls (*nufūs*) shall be coupled" (31, 7) as referring to the conjunction of the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) and the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*).<sup>44</sup>

Tustarī understands the Qur'ānic phrase, "O soul at peace (*an-nafs al-muṭma'innah*)" (89, 27) as "a divine address (*ḥiṭāb*) to the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) by virtue of which there is the life (*ḥayāt*) of the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*)."<sup>45</sup> "The two parties (*ṭā'ifatān*)" (49, 3) are understood in their hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) as denoting "the spirit (*rūḥ*), the intellect (*'aql*) and the heart (*qalb*); and the instinct (*ṭab'*), the passion (*hawā*) and the lust (*shahwā*). For the instinct, the passion and the lust oppress the intellect, the spirit and the heart. Man (*'abd*) shall fight against it (namely the instinct) with the swords of concentration (on God, *murāqabah*), the arrows of study (*muṭālā'ah*), and the lights of conformity (to the Law, *muwāfaqah*), so that the spirit (*rūḥ*) and the intellect (*'aql*) may be dominant (*gālib*) and the passion (*hawā*) and the lust (*shahwā*) be dominated (*maḡlūb*)."<sup>46</sup>

Whereas Tustarī's *Tafsīr* consistently emphasizes the antagonistic duality and complementary unity of these two psychic forces within man, his terminology seems to reveal a basic ambiguity which adds a feature of inconsistency of expression to his psychology. For, on the one hand Tustarī seems to adopt the distinction of *qalb* and *nafs* from the Ṣūfī milieu;<sup>47</sup> on

<sup>40</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 374; and Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 98; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 259b/330a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 308.

<sup>41</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 112.

<sup>42</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 122.

<sup>43</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 118; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 282b/366a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 368.

<sup>44</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 116; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 361.

<sup>45</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 120.

<sup>46</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 91; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 243b/307a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 268.

<sup>47</sup> J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārīt al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961, pp. 31ff.

the other hand he refines this distinction by substituting the concepts of *nafs ar-rūḥ* and *nafs at-ṭab'* for the traditional pair of notions. The concepts of *nafs ar-rūḥ* and *nafs at-ṭab'* are peculiar to Tustarī's range of mystical ideas and might, in their imagery, be derived from the observation of the inhalation and exhalation of the breath (*nafas*).<sup>48</sup> If this is the case, the terms *nafs ar-rūḥ* and *nafs at-ṭab'* become pregnant with the ideas of life-breath included in the soul of man. Thus, by virtue of the etymological affinity and the wordplay of *nafs* and *nafas*, Tustarī achieves a flexible view of man's psyche and integrates in his notion of the soul the connotations of "self", "breath", and "vital principle."

The ambivalence of meaning included in the Arabic term of *nafs* is a legacy of the Qur'ān and the Arabic sources of the early Muslim centuries.<sup>49</sup> For, on the lexicographical level, *nafs* denotes both the reflexive pronoun ("self") and the human soul. Again, in its meaning of "soul", *nafs* can denote either the vital principle of life-breath within man or the egoistic principle of self-assertion within man. Arabic lexicography also considers the feminine noun *nafs* as synonymous to the masculine noun *rūḥ*, both with the meaning "soul", "spirit", "vital principle."<sup>50</sup> However, both notions seem to be linked to a different background of anthropological imagination. While *nafs*, related to *nafas* ("breath"), denotes the breath of the throat which passes from the belly through the mouth, *rūḥ*, of the same root as *riḥ* ("wind"), refers to the breath of the nostrils which passes through the nose from the brain. With regard to respiration, *nafs* is linked with the life-breath whose cessation signifies death (*maut*), whereas *rūḥ* is linked with the breath of the waking state whose cessation means sleep (*naum*). Thus *nafs* is considered as the vital principle that is "carnal" (and connected with the blood), while *rūḥ* represents the vital principle that is "spiritual" (and connected with the air). As "carnal principle" *nafs* obtains a negative character in the Qur'ān through the attribution of "*al-ammārah bi's-sū'* (habitually inciting to evil)", whereas *rūḥ*, on the contrary, tends to be considered in the Qur'ān as divine spirit (breathed into man). In addition to these lexicographical, anthropological, and Qur'ānic aspects, Tustarī's view of man might also be influenced by the amalgamation of a Semitic understanding of the soul of

<sup>48</sup> L. Massignon, *L'idée de l'esprit dans l'Islām*; in: *Opera Minora*, 3 vols., Beyrouth 1963; cf. II, 562–65.

<sup>49</sup> R. Blachère, *Note sur le substantif nafs, "souffle vital", "âme" dans le Coran*; in: *Semítica*, I (1948), pp. 69–77.

<sup>50</sup> D. B. MacDonald, *The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam*; in: *Acta Orientalia* (1931), pp. 307–351; E. E. Calverley, *SEI*, 433–436 (art. *Nafs*); J. Chelhod, *Les Structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1964, pp. 147–177.



man in its corporate totality with its Hellenistic understanding of a body and soul duality.

By virtue of his mystical discernment Tustarī sharpens the conceptual grasp of the psychic realities in man and endeavours to anchor the two basic antagonistic forces of the soul of man in man's primordial state of perfection and in the event of the creation of man. Tustarī discovers the decisive Qur'ānic keynotes for his view of the soul of man in the Qur'ānic verses 39, 42; 81, 7; 19, 61; 2, 30 and 12, 53, but also alludes to his psychological ideas in many other passages of his *Tafsīr*.

Tustarī's analysis of *tawaffī* (God's taking of the souls unto Himself) leads to the core of His conception of the soul of man. "God takes (*yatawaffā*) the souls (*anfus*) at the time of their death (*maut*), and that which has not died, in its sleep (*manām*). He withholds that against which He has decreed death, but looses the other till a stated term (*aḡal musammā*)" (39, 42). This Qur'ānic verse is commented upon by Tustarī in a long and complicated passage. He says:

"When God takes the souls (*anfus*) unto Himself, He extracts (*ahraḡa*) the luminous spirit (*ar-rūḥ an-nūrī*) from the subtle substance of the dense natural self (*laṭīf nafs at-ṭab' al-kaṭīf*)."<sup>51</sup>

Then Tustarī continues to distinguish three types of *tawaffī*: "God's taking (the souls unto Himself) has three aspects in the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*). The first is death (*maut*), the other is sleep (*naum*), and the third is spiritual ascent (*raf*). Death (*maut*) we have just mentioned. With respect to sleep (*naum*) there is God's word, 'and that which has not died, in its sleep' (39, 42) which means, He (God) takes unto Himself (*yatawaffā*) that which has not died, in its sleep (*manām*). (God also) said, 'it is He who recalls you by night' (6, 60) which refers to the sleep (*naum*). Spiritual ascent (*raf*) refers to Jesus (*ʿĪsā* whom God addressed in the Qur'ān): 'I will take thee (*mutawaffika*) to Me and will raise thee (*rāfiʿuka*) to Me' (3, 55)."<sup>52</sup>

Tustarī connects this tripartite *tawaffī* with his theory of the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) which he considers as subtle substances (*laṭīf*). For he says: "When man dies, He (God) will extract from him (*yanziʿu ʿanhu*) the subtle substance (*laṭīf*) of the luminous spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ an-nūrī*) out of the subtle substance (*laṭīf*) of the dense natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-kaṭīf*), by which man comprehends the things (*ašyāʾ*) and has the vision (*ruʾyah*) in the heavenly kingdom (*malakūt*). When man is asleep, He (God) extracts from him (*nazaʿa ʿanhu*)

<sup>51</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 90; Sulamī, *Ḥaqāʾiq at-tafsīr*, 218 a/276 a; Baqlī *ʿArāʾis al-bayān*, II, 200.

<sup>52</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 80 f.

the subtle substance (*latīf*) of the dense natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-katīf*), not the subtle substance (*latīf*) of the luminous spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ an-nūrī*). For a man who is asleep (*nā'im*) recovers a subtle breath (*nafasan latīfan*) which comes from the subtle substance (*latīf*) of the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) that, if it parted from him, would leave him without motion (*ḥarakah*) and lifeless (*mayyit*). Thus the dense natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-katīf*) has its subtle substance (*latīf*) and the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) has its subtle substance (*latīf*).<sup>53</sup>

Then Tustarī determines the life-giving force within these subtle substances, shows their interrelation and their ultimate dependence on the remembrance of God (*dīkr*). He says: "The life (*ḥayāt*) of the subtle substance (*latīf*) of the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) is by virtue of the light of the subtle substance of the spiritual self (*nūr latīf nafs ar-rūḥ*). The spiritual life (*ḥayāt rūḥ*) of the subtle substance of the spiritual self (*latīf nafs ar-rūḥ*) is by virtue of the remembrance (*dīkr*) – as God said, 'living with their Lord, by Him provided' (3, 169), this is to say, they are provided (by God) with the remembrance (*dīkr*) by virtue of what they obtain from the subtle substance (*latīf*) of the luminous self (*latīf nafs an-nūrī*). The life (*ḥayāt*) of the dense nature (*at-ṭab' al-katīf*) is by virtue of eating (*akl*), drinking (*šurb*) and enjoyment (*tamattu'*). Whoever does not know how to reconcile (*iṣlāḥ*) these two opposites (*diddain*) – I mean the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) and the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) –, so that the subsistence (*'aiṣ*) of the two together rests on remembrance (*dīkr*) as well as their endeavour (*sa'i*) to accomplish remembrance (*dīkr*), is not a mystic (*'arif*) in reality (*fī'l-ḥaqīqah*)."<sup>54</sup>

Tustarī's disciple, 'Umar b Wāṣil, confronts his master's view of the two subtle substances of man's soul with a statement of his contemporary, the grammarian Abu'l-'Abbās Muḥammad b Yazīd Al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), and has Tustarī emphasize that the spiritual self of man is constituted in pre-existence and is thus independent in its existence from the natural self. "'Umar b Wāṣil said, I mentioned to Sahl a statement of Al-Mubarrad, the grammarian, who said: The spirit (*rūḥ*) and the self (*nafs*) are two things interlinked (*šai'ān muttaṣilān*); none of the two exists without the other. Sahl replied, he was mistaken. The spirit (*rūḥ*), in its essence (*dāt*), is founded on God's grace (*yaqūmu bi-lutfihi*) without the dense natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-katīf*). Do you not see that God addressed the universe of (primal) specks (*al-kull min ad-darr*) by virtue of a spiritual self (*nafs rūḥ*), an understanding of intellect (*fahm 'aql*), a discernment of heart (*fiṭnah*

<sup>53</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 81; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 218b/276b.

<sup>54</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 81.

*qalb*), and a knowledge of subtle substance (*'ilm laṭīf*) without a dense nature being present (*bilā huḍūr ṭab' kaṭīf*).<sup>55</sup>

The theory of *nafs at-ṭab'* (natural self) and *nafs ar-rūḥ* (spiritual self), which Tustarī develops in this passage, rests on his analysis of the three ways of *tawaffī*, death, sleep and spiritual ascent. In death, when God takes the souls unto Himself, He extracts the luminous spirit (*ar-rūḥ an-nūrī*) from the coarse natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-kaṭīf*). God dissociates the subtle substance (*laṭīf*) of man's spiritual self from the natural self and takes unto Himself this luminous spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ an-nūrī*) which alone is capable of the beatific vision (*ru'yah*). In sleep too, God takes the souls unto Himself, but deprives man of the subtle substance of the coarse natural self (*nafs at-ṭab' al-kaṭīf*), not of the luminous spiritual self. In the absence of the natural self during sleep, the subtle substance of the spiritual self substitutes a subtle breath (*nafasan laṭīfan*) for the natural self and enables the body to perform the functions that are necessary for the continuation of its life. The case of spiritual ascent (*raf'*), is solved by a Qur'ānic reference, but is not explained in terms of the spiritual and natural self.

Another reference to the phenomenon of sleep and its relation to the principle of man's spiritual nature is found in Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse, "when He (God) was causing slumber (*nu'ās*) to overcome you as a security from Him" (8, 11), which reads: "The slumber (*nu'ās*) descends from the brain (*dimāḡ*) while the heart (*qalb*) is alive (*ḥayy*), but the sleep (*naum*) resides in the heart (*yaḥullu bi'l-qalb*) outwardly (*min aḏ-ḏāhir*). It is the decree of sleep (*ḥukm an-naum*) but the decree of slumber (*ḥukm an-nu'ās*) is the decree of the spirit (*ḥukm ar-rūḥ*)."<sup>56</sup>

The two subtle substances, natural self and spiritual self, have their peculiar sphere of life (*ḥayāt*). While the natural self finds its subsistence in food, drink, and sensual pleasures, the spiritual self finds its subsistence in the awareness and remembrance of God (*dīkr*). The life of the natural self is rooted in the light (*nūr*) of the spiritual self which, in turn, is in no need of the natural self for its own existence. Thus the two principles are not essentially and necessarily interlinked (as in Mubarrad's view) but on the contrary, the spirit (*rūḥ*) is founded in its own essence (*dāt*) and is independent from the natural self, as is evidenced by the primordial existence of the spirit prior to creation when God addressed the universe of atoms (*al-kull min ad-darr*). Then, in pre-existence, man was but spirit (*rūḥ*), intellect (*aql*), and heart (*qalb*), and understood God's address (*ḥitāb*) although he was bereft of any principle of coarse nature (*ṭab' kaṭīf*).

<sup>55</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 81; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 218b/276b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 201.

<sup>56</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 42; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 66b/84a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 305.

### 3. Spirit, Intellect and Heart

The three elements of spirit, intellect and heart, which represent the perfection of man in pre-existence, are not to be understood as three constitutive component parts of man's soul but describe three ways of realization of the very same spiritual reality of man which is centered on God ever since the Day of the primordial Covenant. For, in Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, these three realities are frequently placed parallel to each other within the same sentence of Qur'ānic commentary.<sup>57</sup> Each of these three aspects of the same spiritual reality in man is coupled by Tustarī with an essential characteristic peculiar to itself. Whenever Tustarī refers to the essential quality proper to the heart (*qalb*) he employs the term *fiṭnah* (discernment, insight, perspicacity). The intellect (*'aql*) is qualified by the characteristic of *fahm* (understanding, comprehension, grasp). Whereas *fiṭnat al-qalb* (the discernment of the heart) and *fahm al-'aql* (the understanding of the intellect) are frequently used expressions, the spirit (*rūh*) is sporadically qualified by the property of *dihn* (intuition, mind, sagacity) to form the composite notion of *dihn ar-rūh* (the intuition of the spirit).

When Tustarī views the spiritual principle in man, which is centered on God and expresses itself in different spiritual modes, he speaks of the intuition of the spirit, the understanding of the intellect and the discernment of the heart. When he conceives of this positive psychic force as opposed to the psychic force within man that is centered on the lower self of man, then he speaks preferably of the *nafs ar-rūh* (the spiritual self) as opposed to the *nafs at-ṭab'* (the natural self). When Tustarī regards the spiritual reality in man that is centered on God without particular reference to its actualization or its opposite force, then he speaks of the heart (*qalb*) of man, and when he deals with the lower self of man without regard for its relation to the positive spiritual forces in man, he prefers the notion of the "self" (*nafs*). Since the *Tafsīr*, however, is not a continuous text but a compilation of jottings linked to certain Qur'ānic verses, and since Tustarī does not expound his ideas with the rigidity of a logician but with the flexibility of a mystic, terminological inconsistencies obscure the coherent structure of his thought.

A few examples, cited from the *Tafsīr*, document Tustarī's view of the three basic modes of man's spiritual reality. Tustarī perceives the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the Qur'ānic phrase, "those who prevailed over their affair (*amr*)" (18, 21) as referring to "the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūh*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*) and the discernment of the

<sup>57</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59; 60; 80; 81; 84; 96; 118; 123.

heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*) by virtue of the remembrance of God (*bi'd-dīkri li-llāh*).<sup>58</sup> As noted in the preceding chapter, Tustarī, at two points in the *Tafsīr*, determines the remembrance of God (*dīkr*) as the provision (*rizq*) for the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the intellect (*'aql*) and the heart (*qalb*), and compares it with the livelihood of the angels.<sup>59</sup> In his commentary on Qur'ān 78, 11 he even goes so far as to have God say: "(We made) the lights of the hearts (*anwār al-qulūb*) and their illumination (*tanwīr*) with our remembrance (*dīkr*) a (means of) subsistence (*'aiṣ*) for the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the intellect (*'aql*) similar to the (means of) subsistence of the angels (*malā'ikah*)."<sup>60</sup> Commenting on "the passion (*hawā*)" mentioned in Qur'ān 38, 26, Tustarī remarks: "The darkness of passion veils the lights (*anwār*) of the intuition of the spiritual self (*dīhn nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*) and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*)."<sup>61</sup> The Qur'ānic phrase, "He (God) taught him (man) the Explanation (*bayān*)" (55, 4) is interpreted by Tustarī as meaning, "He taught him the discourse (*kalām*) that concerns the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*), and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*), the intuition of human nature (*dīhn al-hulq*), and the knowledge of the natural self (*'ilm nafs at-ṭab'*). With this God inspired (*alḥama*) Adam and made it plain (*bayyana*, to him)."<sup>62</sup>

The spirit, the intellect, the heart and their peculiar characteristics not only perfect man's primordial form of existence, they also represent man's aptitude for the beatific vision of God in the world to come. Thus Tustarī views the three modes of man's spiritual perfection from their origin in pre-existence and their ultimate goal in post-existence.

In his commentary on Qur'ān 42, 20, Tustarī explains the vision of God (*an-naẓar ilaihi*) as "the share (*ḥaẓẓ*) of the intuition of the spiritual self (*dīhn nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*) and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*)", namely as the share of those spiritual forces in man by virtue of which the human race comprehended God's allocution as "He addressed them (*ḥāṭabahu*)" in pre-existence where "the natural self (*an-nafs at-ṭabī'iyyah*) was not present", although, in the beatific vision of post-existence, the natural self enjoys a share (*ḥaẓẓ*)

<sup>58</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59.

<sup>59</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 77 (with reference to Qur'ān, 34, 39) and *Tafsīr* 82 (with reference to Qur'ān, 39, 68).

<sup>60</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 80.

<sup>62</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 96; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 254 a/322 a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 296 (This is the only passage of the *Tafsīr* which records the term *dīhn al-hulq* perhaps in substitution for *dīhn ar-rūḥ*. As to the term *fiṭnah*, cf. Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Kōpr. 727, ff. 176 b–177 a; 193 a).

in the lights (*anwār*) of the three modes of man's spiritual perfection because of its being blended with them in the likeness of a breeze (*nasīm*) carrying a perfume (*ṭīb*).<sup>63</sup>

Though the spiritual self and the natural self are not essentially inter-linked, and thus the spirit of man exists primordially without the natural self being present, they yet in this world (*dunyā*) are both "joined together" in constant remembrance (*dīkr*) and thanksgiving (*ṣukr*) of God and will both be "blended" in paradise (*ḡannah*). This is the point of Tustarī's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse, "when the souls (*nufūs*) shall be coupled (*zuwwiḡat*)" (81, 7), where he says: "He (God) joined (*qarana baina*) the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) and the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), for they are blended (*imtazaḡā*) in the blessings of paradise (*na'im al-ḡannah*) as they, in this world (*dunyā*), were joined together (*mu'talafīn*) in constant remembrance (*idāmat ad-dīkr*) and unfailing thanksgiving (*iqāmat aṣ-ṣukr*)."<sup>64</sup> Likewise Tustarī interprets the Qur'ānic verse, "He makes the day to enter into the night" (57, 6), as a symbolic expression for the joint natural and spiritual self, and indicates faintly that man, through the joining (*muqāranah*) of his natural self (*nafs ṭab'ihī*) with his spiritual self (*nafs rūḥihī*), is able to recognize in awe God's greatness.<sup>65</sup>

The commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, "by the witness (*ṣāhid*) and the witnessed (*maṣhūd*)" (85, 3), represents another, perhaps textually corrupted fragment of Qur'ānic interpretation which alludes to the modes of man's spiritual perfection in post-existence. Tustarī equates the witness with the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the witnessed with the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*). On "the promised day" (85, 2), the Day of Resurrection, the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*) will combine with the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*), and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*) in being witness over its own heart and mind, whereas God will be the ever-present witness (*ṣahīd*) over everything (*al-kull*).<sup>66</sup>

Tustarī also explains the absolute mystery (*ḡaib al-ḡaib*), in which man witnesses his Lord in the world to come, as comprising the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*) and the discernment of the heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*). He discovers the Qur'ānic keynote for this idea in the verse, "gardens of Eden that the All-merciful promised his servants in the Unseen (*ḡaib*)" (19, 61), and understands it as a reference to "the visual beholding of God (*mu'āyanat al-ḥaqq*)" which

<sup>63</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 84.

<sup>64</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 116; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 361.

<sup>65</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 98; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 259b/330a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 308.

<sup>66</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 118; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 282b/366a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 368.

man enjoys in his ultimate nearness to God when he meets Him face to face. "For man (*'abd*) sees his heart (*qalb*) in the nearness of God (*qurb al-ḥaqq*) as being witnessed (*maṣhūd*) in the absolute mystery (*ḡaib al-ḡaib*). The absolute mystery is the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*), the understanding of the intellect (*fahm al-'aql*), and the discernment of the intention of the heart (*fiṭnat al-murād bi'l-qalb*). For the spiritual self is the seat (*mauḍi'*) of the intellect (*'aql*) and the seat of the holy (spirit, *al-quds*). The holy (spirit) is linked with the throne (*'ars*) and is one of the names (*asmā'*) of the throne. God made the self (*nafs*) one of a thousand portions (*ḡuz'*), of the spirit (*rūḥ*), nay smaller than that. When the express will (*irādah*) of the spirit (*rūḥ*) becomes the express will (*irādah*) of the self (*nafs*) then the two receive among them the discernment (*fiṭnah*) and the intuition (*dihn*). The discernment (*fiṭnah*) is the guide (*imām*) of the understanding (*fahm*) and the understanding is the guide of the intuition (*dihn*). The discernment is life (*ḥayāt*) and the understanding (*fahm*) is livelihood (*'aiṣ*)."<sup>67</sup>

Tustarī's mystical description of the heart (*qalb*) exhibits a variety of features and images, which depict the heart of man in its essence, its depth, its inner structure, and ultimate destiny. Some of the major and representative sections of the *Tafsīr* will illustrate Tustarī's view of this God-centered principle within man.

Tustarī explains the God-centered tendency of the heart (*qalb*) by two parallel interpretations of the Qur'ānic phrase, "God has not assigned to any man two hearts (*qalbain*) within his breast (*ḡauf*)" (33, 4). He states that man has only one heart which is turned to his Lord (*rabb*) and likens it to the face (*waḡh*) that is forever turned to God and intent on Him alone. Tustarī understands this verse as referring to "one who turns his face (*mutawaḡḡih*) to God with the intention (*qaṣd*) of not turning around (*iltifāt*). One who pays attention to other than God is not intent on his Lord (*rabb*). For God says, 'God has not assigned to any man two hearts within his breast' (33 4): a heart (*qalb*) with which he turns (*yuqbilu*) to his Lord (*rabb*) and a heart with which he pursues (*yudabbiru*) the affairs of this his world (*dunyā*)."<sup>68</sup>

At two points of the *Tafsīr* Tustarī compares the human heart to the sea (*baḥr*). In one passage he depicts the heart as a treasure house of spiritual substances (*ḡauhar*) and contrasts it with the principle of the lower self (*nafs*) in man. He translates the Qur'ānic verse, "He let forth the two seas that meet together" (55, 19), into his mystical imagery as follows: "One of

<sup>67</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 60.

<sup>68</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 75; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 194 a/247 a.

the two seas (*baḥrain*) is the heart (*qalb*). In it are different kinds of (precious) substances (*ḡawāḥir*): the substance of faith (*īmān*), the substance of gnosis (*ma'rifah*), the substance of the profession of God's oneness (*tauhīd*), the substance of contentment (*ridā*), the substance of love (*maḥabbah*), the substance of longing (*ṣauq*), the substance of sorrow (*ḥuzn*), the substance of poverty (*faqr*) and others alike. The other sea (*baḥr*) is the self (*nafs*).<sup>69</sup> Baqlī further discerns "different kinds of depravities (*radā'il*)" which Tustarī is supposed to have understood as rooted in the *nafs*.<sup>70</sup>

In the other passage Tustarī compares the sea (*baḥr*) to the heart and the land (*barr*) to man's actions which are performed by the bodily organs and limbs. An explanation of two traditions of the Prophet illustrates how the core of the heart (*ḡumhūr*) is unimpaired by the principles of man's speech and action, that is, speech as represented by the tongue (*lisān*) and action as represented by the limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*). In the same passage Tustarī also, in a play on words, depicts the heart by the image of the waves of the ocean and discerns its depth and centre as a point of utter peace to which the lower self (*nafs*) has no access. Commenting upon the Qur'ānic phrase, "corruption has appeared in the land (*barr*) and sea (*baḥr*)" (30, 41), Tustarī says: "God likened (*matāla*) the limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*) to the land (*barr*) and He likened the heart (*qalb*) to the sea (*baḥr*). They are the most common benefit (*naf*) and the most frequent danger (*ḥaṭr*). This is the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the verse. Do you not consider that the heart is only called heart (*qalb*) because of its fluctuation (*taqallub*) and its profound depth (*bu'd ḡauriḥi*). Thus the Prophet said to Abū Dardā' (ob. 32/652), 'refurbish the ship (*safinah*), for the sea (*baḥr*) is deep'. Henceforth, when (man's) action (*mu'āmalah*) comes to pass in the hearts (*qulūb*) which are the seas, then he (man) has no escape (*maḥraḡ*) from (performing) it; the lower self (*nafs*) parts from the centre (*wasat*) and the limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*) rest quiet. Thus their subject (*ṣāḥib*) gets closer to its depth every day and farther away from his lower self until he reaches it. Being asked about the meaning of the Prophet's saying, 'one who abases himself before wealth (*ḡinan*), sees two thirds of his religion (*dīn*) vanish', he (Tustarī) answered, the heart has three stages (*maqāmāt*): the core (*ḡumhūr*) of the heart, the stage of the tongue (*lisān*) in relation to the heart, and the stage of the limbs (*ḡawāriḥ*) in relation to the heart. His (the Prophet's) saying 'he sees two thirds of his religion vanish' means, he is occupied with three things: two of them pertain to the tongue and the rest of the limbs; the remaining is the

<sup>69</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 97; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 297.

<sup>70</sup> Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, II, 297.



core (*ḡumhūr*) which nobody reaches – it is the seat of his faith (*maudī' imānīhi*) in relation to the heart. Then he (Tustarī) added, the heart is delicate (*raqīq*), everything influences it. So keep guard over it and fear God with it.”<sup>71</sup>

Although Tustarī stresses the heart as the sole principle within man that is turned to God, he assigns separate functions to its two cavities. Thus, Tustarī understands the hidden meaning (*bāṭin*) of the Qur'ānic verse, “Lord (*rabb*) of the two Easts, Lord of the two Wests” (55, 17), as referring to “the east (*mašriq*) of the heart (*qalb*) and its west (*maḡrib*), and the east of the tongue (*lisān*) and its west.”<sup>72</sup> The heart has two cavities (*taḡwīf*): an inward one, the heart proper (*qalb al-qalb*), and an outward one, occupied by the intellect (*'aql*). Thus he says: “the heart (*qalb*) has two cavities (*taḡwīfān*), one of them is inward (*bāṭin*) and includes hearing (*sam'*) and seeing (*baṣar*); this is called the heart proper (*qalb al-qalb*). The other cavity is the outward (side) of the heart (*ẓāhir al-qalb*) and includes the intellect (*'aql*). The intellect is in the heart like the glance (*naẓar*) is in the eye (*'ain*).”<sup>73</sup>

Tustarī's commentary on the Qur'ānic phrase, “whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islām” (6, 125), includes three statements concerning the heart of man. He says: 1) “God will look into the hearts (*qulūb*) when they will be with Him (*'indahū*). Whichever of them were strongest in humility (*tawāḍu'an*) before Him, He favours them with what He pleases, and thereafter (He favours) whichever of them were quickest in returning (*ruḡu'an* to Him). These are the two particular characteristics (*ḥaṣlatān*).” 2) “When God sees the concern of this world (*ḥamm ad-dunyā*) in a heart (*qalb*), He only discloses to it that He loathes it; and the (act of) loathing (*maqt*) is that He abandons it and its soul (*nafs*).” 3) “No one rules the heart (*qalb*) save God Most High; and the heart does not obey anyone save God Most High. When you are reminded of it then place your inmost being (*sirr*) with God, because you should place your inmost being with none other than the Transcendent (*al-ḥaqq*) that He may tear it open.”<sup>74</sup>

At another point of the *Tafsīr*, Tustarī depicts the life and death of the heart. “The heart (*qalb*) has a thousand deaths (*maut*) the last of them is being cut off from God (*al-qaṭī'ah 'an Allāh*). The heart has a thousand lives (*ḥayāt*), the last of them is the encounter of the Transcendent (*liqā'*

<sup>71</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 73; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 188b/240b.

<sup>72</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 96; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 254a/322b; Baqli, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, II, 297.

<sup>73</sup> Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, I, 180; Tustarī, *Kalām Sahl*, ms. *Köpr.* 727, f. 113 ff.; Suhrawardī, Abū Ḥafs 'Umar, *'Awārif al-ma'arif*, Cairo 1358/1939, p. 327.

<sup>74</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 36.

*al-ḥaqq*). There is death for the heart in every work of disobedience (*ma'ṣiyah*), and there is life for the heart in every work of obedience (*ṭā'ah*).<sup>75</sup>

As part of his interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse 19, 85, Tustarī notes: "The hearts (*qulūb*) of men are more precious (*a'azz*) to them than that they would behold in them something other than God. For when God created the heart (*qalb*), He said, I created you for Me in particular (*ḥaṣṣatan*). These hearts are vagrants (*ḡawwālah*), they either wander around God's throne (*'arṣ*) or they roam about in the garden (of paradise, *ḥaṣṣ*)."<sup>76</sup>

#### 4. The Lower Self of Man

While man is pre-existentially endowed with heart (*qalb*), spirit (*rūh*), and intellect (*'aql*), he receives the principle of his lower self (*nafs*), the negative psychic force within man, at the moment of creation. The beginnings of man's creation are depicted by Tustarī in a series of events. First God announces his plan of man's creation to the angels (*malā'ikah*). Then He creates man (*Ādam*) as His viceroy in the earth (*fi'l-arḍ ḥalīfah*). Next he instructs man about his carnal soul (*nafs*) and her nature (*ṭab'*). Then He bids man to enter paradise (*ḡannah*) and forbids him to eat from the tree (*ṣaḡarah*). Finally Iblīs, the tempter and enemy of man, induces man to abandon God's covenant (*'ahd*) with man. The passage concludes with a disquisition concerning the forgetfulness (*nisyān*) of God's compact (*'ahd*) and God's remembrance (*dīkr*), and cites God's decree (*ḥukm*) prior to creation which permits Iblīs to overpower the human soul (*nafs*) whenever man's heart (*qalb*) turns to other than God.

The whole lengthy passage,<sup>77</sup> despite its disjointedness, constitutes one of the key sections of Tustarī's *Tafsīr*. Though recounted in the imagery of Adam's creation, paradise, and Iblīs' temptation, this section depicts basically the struggle of the heart (*qalb*) and the self (*nafs*) within man's soul. Thus God's instruction to Adam, the first man whom God set as viceroy on the earth, is focused by Tustarī on the notion of the carnal soul (*nafs*) which is the principle in man that counteracts all God-oriented tendencies within man. Tustarī describes her nature and indicates how God comes to man's succour in curbing her antagonistic impulses.

<sup>75</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 59 (with reference to Qur'ān, 18, 28).

<sup>76</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 61.

<sup>77</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10f.; cf. Ṣāṭibī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Al-Laḥmī, *Al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341/1922, III, 240.

In explanation of the Qur'ānic phrase "I am setting in the earth a viceroy (*ḥalīfah*)" (2, 30) Tustarī says: "Before God created Adam He said to the angels, 'I am setting in the earth a viceroy', and He created Adam from the clay of Might consisting of the light of Muḥammad (*ṭīn al-'izzah min nūr Muḥammad*) and instructed him that his carnal soul (*nafs*) which always incited to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*) is his worst enemy (*a'dā 'adūw*), and that He created her in order to converse with her in secret about him (*li-yusārrahā 'alaihi*) concerning thoughts (*ḥawātir*) and inner drives (*himam*) which He perceives (*bi-ma'lūmihi*) in her, and that he (man) converses with Him in secret (*yusārrahu*) by constantly being in need of God (*iftiqār*) and seeking refuge in Him (*laḡa'*).

When man displays to her a work of obedience (*ṭā'ah*) she says, I am discomfited. When she is moved to a work of disobedience (*ma'ṣiyah*) she says, protect me. When she is moved to a blessing (*ni'mah*) she says, restrain me; and when man says to her, have patience in the affliction (*balā'*) she says, make me patient. But man's heart (*qalb*) is not at peace (*lā yusākin*) with the slightest whispering (*adnā waswasah*) to her without returning from her to his Lord. God made it her nature (*ṭab'*, instinct) to be listless (*sākin*) in the Command (*amr*) and to be restless (*mutaḥarrik*) in the Interdiction (*nahy*). He commanded man to remain unruffled (*bi-an yaskuna*) when he is agitated (*'an al-mutaḥarrik*) and to be roused (*yataḥarraka*) when he is listless (*'an as-sākin*). "There is neither power nor strength save with God" (*lā ḥaula wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāh*) that is to say, man has no power (to avoid) his work of disobedience (*ma'ṣiyah*) save by His protection (*'iṣmah*) and he has no strength (to perform) his work of disobedience (*ṭā'ah*) save by His help (*ma'ūnah*).

Thereupon God ordered man to enter paradise (*ḡannah*) and to eat from it in (a life) of plenty whenever he wanted. He specified (*naṣṣa*) for him the Interdiction of not eating from the tree (*ṣāḡarah*). When man entered paradise and saw all its beauty, he said, would that we lasted forever; yet, indeed, there is an instant (of death) appointed for us at a known limit (*ḡāyah*).

Then Iblis approached man on account of the acquiescence (*musākanah*) of his heart (*qalb*) by whispering into his carnal soul (*nafs*) concerning this and said, shall I indicate to you the tree of eternity (*ṣāḡarat al-ḥuld*) which you desire in this abode (*dār*) that is the cause (*sabab*) of permanence (*baqā'*) and immortality (*ḥuld*)? 'Your Lord has only prohibited you from this tree lest you become angels' (7, 20). Thus his indication (*dalālah*) was self conceit (*ḡurūr*). God connected with it the whispering (*waswasah*) of the enemy (*'adūw*) because of his foreknowledge (*sābiq 'ilmihī*) about it and the sure occurrence (*bulūḡ*) of His design (*taqdīr*) and His just decree

(*ḥukm*) concerning it. The first forgetfulness (*nisyān*) happened in paradise, the forgetfulness of Adam: it was a deliberate forgetfulness (*nisyān 'amd*) not a forgetfulness by mistake (*nisyān ḥaṭā'*), that is to say (it was) the abandonment of the covenant (*tark al-'ahd*).<sup>78</sup>

Then Tustarī goes on to distinguish two kinds of forgetfulness mentioned in the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*) and cites the Prophet as an authority for the distinction. The forgetfulness which implies the abandonment of the covenant (*tark al-'ahd*) leaves man to punishment (*'adāb*) and deprives him of divine protection (*'iṣmah*). References are Qur'ān 2, 106; 2, 137; 20, 115 (cf. 20, 88) and 32, 14. The forgetfulness of God's recollection (*dīker*) is due to the nature (*ḡibillah*) of the human soul (*nafs*). References are Qur'ān 18, 63; 18, 73; 87, 6. For "God assigned Satan (*ṣaitān*) a partnership with the carnal soul (*ṣirkatan ma'a nafs al-ḡibillah*) concerning those of her pleasures (*ḥuṣūṣ*) that are something other than God (*ṣai' ḡair Allāh*)."<sup>79</sup>

After this insertion Tustarī resumes his reflection on Adam's predicament in paradise and says: "(Adam's forgetfulness was due) to his inclination towards the planning of his carnal soul (*tadbīr nafsihi*). His pondering (*fikrah*) (namely his wish for everlasting life) was not an act of reflection (*'tibār*) – for if it had been so, it would have been an act of worship (*'ibādah*) – but it was only a pondering of the natural disposition of his carnal soul (*fikeratan bi-ṭab' nafs al-ḡibillah*). Such was God's decree (*ḥukm*) for man before the creation of heaven and earth, that if He perceived in man's heart (*qalb*) anything other than Him to which man acquiesced, Satan would overpower him whispering in his breast (*ṣadr*) (and arousing) his carnal soul (*nafs*) with passion (*hawā'*) – that is to say she invites man to passion, or else man would return to his Lord seeking refuge and would stick to Him.

Satan concealed God by mentioning Him in his (Satan's) countries (*fa-satara Allāha bi-dīkrihi fi auṭānihi*) at the performance of the interdiction, so that God's foreknowledge (*sābiq 'ilm Allāh*) of him would be perfected concerning that which he forbade him to perform. Adam's act (*fi'l*) became a habit (*sunnah*) in his progeny (*durriyah*) until the Day of Resurrection (*yaum al-qiyāmah*). In reality God did not intend to refer to the eating (from the tree) but only to the acquiescence (*musākanah*) of the inner drive (*himmah*) at something other than Him, namely 'he (man) shall not be concerned with something other than Me'. In paradise (*ḡannah*) Adam was not protected from the intention (*himmah*) and the act (*fi'l*) and He was therefore overtaken by what overtook him.

<sup>78</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 10.

<sup>79</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 11.

Likewise one who raises claims to that which is not his, while his heart (*qalb*) appeases him in looking at the passion (*hawā*) of his carnal soul (*nafs*) concerning it, is overtaken by being abandoned by God in spite of the fact that He (God) naturally disposed (*ḡabala 'alaihi*) his carnal soul to it, unless God has mercy on him, and then protects him from his planning (*tadbīr*) and helps him against his enemy (*'adūw*) and her, namely his carnal soul (*nafs*). In paradise, the people of paradise (*ahl al-ḡannah*) are immune (*ma'sūmūn*) from the planning (*tadbīr*) which they had in the abode of this world (*dār ad-dunyā*) yet Adam was not protected from the acquiescence (*musākanah*) of his heart (*qalb*) in the planning of his carnal soul (*tadbīra nafsihi*) for immortality (*ḥulūd*) when he was made to enter paradise. Do you not see that the affliction (*balā'*) came upon him because of the reliance of the heart (*sukūn al-qalb*) on what his carnal soul (*nafs*) whispered to him. Thus the passion (*hawā*) and the lust (*ṣahwah*) overwhelmed the knowledge (*'ilm*), the intellect (*'aql*), the manifestation (*bayān*), and the light of the heart (*nūr al-qalb*), because of God's foreordainment (*sābiq al-qadar*); as the Prophet said, the passion (*hawā*) and the lust (*ṣahwah*) overcome the knowledge (*'ilm*) and the intellect (*'aql*)."<sup>80</sup>

A source of inspiration for Tustarī's view of the *nafs* "that habitually incites to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*)" is the temptation of the Qur'ānic figure of Joseph (Yūsuf) who is solicited by Potiphar's wife (cf. Qur'ān 12, 23ff.). Tustarī considers Yūsuf, "the mighty prince" (12, 106) as "the one who was defeated (*maḡlūb*) in his carnal soul (*nafs*)" because he permitted the desire for Potiphar's wife to rise in his lower self.<sup>81</sup> Thus Tustarī comments on the Qur'ānic verse "for she desired him (*hammat bihi*); and he would have taken her (*hamma bihā*), but that he saw the proof (*burhān*) of his Lord" (12, 24) and shows how Yūsuf's natural desire for her was thwarted by God's protection, when the angel Gabriel (*Ḡibrīl*) appeared to Yūsuf in the shape of his father Jacob (Ya'qūb). Again the interpretation of this Qur'ānic episode stresses the counter-tendencies of the carnal principle in man (*nafs at-ṭab'*) and the God-oriented principle in man, here termed as "the self of (God-given) success and protection (*nafs at-taufīq wa'l-iṣmah*)."<sup>82</sup> Tustarī comments on the verse in question: "With his natural self (*bi-nafsihi at-ṭabī'iyyah*) he intended (*hamma*) the desire (*mail*) for her, but with the self of the (God-given) success and protection (*bi-nafs at-taufīq wa'l-iṣmah*) he intended to flee her and to resist her. This means, his Lord (*rabb*) protected him. Had there not been his Lord's protection (*iṣmah rabbihī*) he would have taken her (*hamma bihā*) out of desire (*mailan*) for that to which his carnal soul (*nafs*) urged him. His

<sup>80</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 11; Šāṭibī, *Muwāfaqāt*, III, 240.

<sup>81</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 50; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 442.

protection (*ʾiṣmah*) is what he saw (*ʾāyana*) of the proof (*burhān*) of his Lord. This is Ǧibrīl coming to him in the shape of Yaʿqūb biting his finger (*ʾaḍḍan iṣbaʾahu*). At that he turned around (*wallā*) to the door, asking (God's) forgiveness (*mustaǧfiran*).<sup>82</sup>

The confession of Yūsuf, "Yet I claim not that my soul (*nafsī*) was innocent – surely the soul of man incites to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*) – except inasmuch as my Lord had mercy" (12, 53), is interpreted by Tustarī as a reference to the two opposite tendencies within Yūsuf's soul: "the soul that incites man (*an-nafs al-ammārah*)" is the principle of lust (*ṣahwah*) and the seat of (instinctive) nature (*mauḍī' at-ṭab'*), whereas "the peaceful soul (*an-nafs al-muṭma'innah*)" is the principle of gnosis (*ma'rifah*) and the seat of (divine) protection (*mauḍī' al-ʾiṣmah*).<sup>83</sup>

Tustarī understands Yūsuf's experience of his baser self as typical of man's experience of the lower tendencies within his own nature. Thus he continues in the same passage to outline the inner essence and structure of man's natural self. He says: "God created the soul (*nafs*) and made ignorance (*ǧahl*) her nature (*ṭab'*), and He made passion (*hawā*) the closest of things to her. He made passion the gate (*bāb*) by which enters the perdition of man (*ḥalāk al-ḥalq*)."<sup>84</sup>

Then Tustarī points out the instinctive dispositions of human nature (*ṭabāʾi*) and determines fundamental ways which assure man of integrity (*salāmah*) and protection (*ʾiṣmah*) from them. He says: "The nature of man (*ṭab' al-ḥalq*) consists of four natural dispositions (*ṭabāʾi*): firstly the animalistic disposition (*ṭab' al-bahā'im*), the belly (*baṭn*) and the private parts (*farg*); secondly the satanic disposition (*ṭab' aš-šayāṭīn*), play (*la'b*) and pastime (*lahw*); thirdly the magical disposition (*ṭab' as-saḥarah*) delusion (*maḳr*) and deception (*ḥidā'*); fourthly the devilish disposition (*ṭab' al-abālisah*), pride (*ibā'*) and haughtiness (*istikbār*). The (divine) protection (*ʾiṣmah*) against the animalistic disposition is faith (*īmān*). The security (*salāmah*) from the satanic disposition is the glorification (*tasbīḥ*) and hallowing (of God, *taṣḍīq*), which is the natural disposition of the angels (*ṭab' al-malā'ikah*). The security from the magical disposition is truthfulness (*ṣidq*), sincere advice (*naṣiḥah*), justice (*inṣāf*), and loving-kindness (*tafaḍḍul*). The security from the devilish disposition is seeking refuge with God (*al-iltiǧā' ilā Allāh*) through supplication (*taḍarru'*) and crying for help (*ṣirāḥ*)."<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 49; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 91a/116b.

<sup>83</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 49; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 94b/121a; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 428.

<sup>84</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 49; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 94b/120b; Baqlī, *'Arā'is al-bayān*, I, 428.

<sup>85</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 49; *Kalām Sahl*, ms. Köpr. 727, f. 122a f; Abū Nu'aim, *Ḥilyat al-auliya'*, X, 206f. (Abū Nu'aim illustrates this fourfold distinction with Qur'anic prooftexts).

Tustarī concludes the passage with a description of the lower tendencies of man's nature and contrasts the essence of the baser self (*nafs*), which is ignorance (*ḡahl*), with knowledge (*'ilm*), the essence of man's intellect (*'aql*): "the natural disposition of the intellect (*ṭab' al-'aql*) is knowledge (*'ilm*), the natural disposition of the lower self (*ṭab' an-nafs*) is ignorance (*ḡahl*), the natural disposition of the instinctive nature (*ṭab' at-ṭab'*) is pretentious claims (*da'wā*)."<sup>86</sup>

Tustarī also explains the "king's doom (*dīn al-malik*)" (12, 76), another reference to the Qur'ānic story of Yūsuf, as referring to the king's rule (*sultān*) and illustrates this interpretation with a statement concerning man's carnal soul. "When the carnal soul (*nafs*) enters into the purity of intention (*ihlās*) before God, then she enters into the rule (*sultān*) of the heart (*qalb*), the intellect (*'aql*), the spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*) and the obedience of the body (*ṭā'at al-badan*) by virtue of the remembrance of God (*bi'd-dīker li-llāh*)."<sup>87</sup>

In Tustarī's view of the *nafs*, the negative psychic force and adverse principle in man that "habitually incites to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*)", is marked by several characteristics, conveniently grouped under four headings: 1. The selfish desire of the *nafs*: she desires her own pleasures (*ḥuṣṣ*) through her innate tendencies of passion (*hawā*) and lust (*ṣahwah*). 2. The autonomous claim of the *nafs*: she suggests the claim (*da'wā*) for her self-centered power (*ḥaul*) and strength (*quwwah*), and follows her own planning (*tadbīr*) independently from God's guidance. 3. The antagonistic temper of the *nafs*: she instigates man to act according to her natural disposition (*ṭab'*) of restless activity (*ḥarakah*) and listless passivity (*sukūn*) in opposition to God's Command (*amr*) and Interdiction (*nahy*). 4. The *nafs* as man's enemy and Satan's associate: she is the worst enemy (*'adūw*) of man and associates herself with Satan (*Iblīs*) by heeding to the whisperings (*waswasah*).

A series of fragments, cited from Tustarī's *Tafsīr*, documents some of these features of the *nafs* as the negative force in man's soul, and corroborates the view of the *nafs* developed in Tustarī's commentary on Qur'ān 2, 30 and Sūrah 12. The collectivity of these references demonstrates the *nafs* as the principle of man's spontaneous self-assertion, the seat of his egoistic tendencies and evil inclinations, the carnal force of his concupiscent drives, and the source of his "a-theistic" self-centeredness. In short, the *nafs* emerges in Tustarī's mystical experience as the core of man's consciousness which represents the "earth-bound" trends of his selfish

<sup>86</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 49.

<sup>87</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 43 (with reference to Qur'ān 9, 29).

nature, in opposition to the heart which symbolizes the core of man's consciousness that is liberated from all egoistic impulses and, as it were, "heaven-bound" and totally turned to God. To quote a few examples:

Tustarī interprets the "compeers (*andād*)" mentioned in the Qur'ānic verse, "so set not up compeers to God" (2, 22) as "adversaries (*aḍḍād*)" and states: "The greatest adversary is the carnal soul that habitually incites to evil (*an-nafs al-ammārah bi's-sū*), desirous of her pleasures (*ḥuḏūḏ*) and her fortune (*munā*), regardless for the guidance (*hudā*) from God."<sup>88</sup>

The Qur'ānic reference to the "seducer (*ṭāġūt*)" (2, 257) is understood by Tustarī as a reference to "Satan (*šaitan*)" and expanded by his statement: "The head of all seducers (*ra's at-ṭawāġūt kullihā*) is the carnal soul that habitually incites to evil (*an-nafs al-ammārah bi's-sū*), because Satan is powerless over casting (*ilqā*, anything into the soul) save by way of the passion of the carnal soul (*hawā an-nafs*). He casts (*alqā*) into her the whispering (*waswasah*) at (the occurrence of) the best (thought) with which she is concerned (*bi-mā tahammuhu*)."<sup>89</sup>

In his commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, "the believers fight in the way of God (*sabīl Allāh*), and the unbelievers fight in the seducer's way (*sabīl at-ṭāġūt*)" (4, 76), Tustarī says: "The believers (*mu'minūn*) are the adversaries (*ḥuṣamā*) on the side of God against their carnal souls (*nufūs*). The hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) are the adversaries on the side of their carnal souls (*nufūs*) against God. They hurry to inquire (about their fate) and are not content with God's choice for them. This is the seducer's way (*sabīl at-ṭāġūt*), since the carnal soul (*nafs*) is the greatest seducer (*akbar at-ṭawāġūt*). When man is alone with her, he exalts disobedience (*ma'ṣiyah*)."<sup>90</sup> In explanation of the verse, "the enjoyment of this world is little" (4, 77) Tustarī says: "The totality of this world (*ad-dunyā kulluhā*) is ignorance (*ġahl*) save for the place of knowledge (*'ilm*); the totality of knowledge is but argument (*ḥuġġah*) save for the place of action (*'amal*) in accordance with it; the totality of action is dust (*habā*) save for the place of purity of intention (*iḥlāṣ*). Purity of intention is not accomplished save through the (Prophet's) custom (*sunnah*) . . . This your world (*dunyāka*) is your carnal soul (*nafsuka*); when you annihilate her then this world is no longer with you."<sup>91</sup>

At another point in the *Tafsīr* (with reference to Qur'ān 20, 81) Tustarī says: "One who starves his carnal soul (*nafs*) diminishes his blood (*damm*)

<sup>88</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 9; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 17.

<sup>89</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 17f.

<sup>90</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 30; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 35a/44a and 33b/42b; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 146.

<sup>91</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 30; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 27b/34a; Baqlī, 'Arā'is al-bayān, I, 117.



proportionately. In proportion to his blood that is diminished by hunger (*ḡū'*), the whispering (*waswasah*) is cut off from the heart (*qalb*). If a fool (*maḡnūn*) were to starve his carnal soul he would become healthy (*ṣaḥīḥ*)."<sup>92</sup>

Tustarī explains the verse, "We sent not ever any messenger or prophet before thee but that Satan cast (*alqā*) into his fancy when he was fancying" (22, 52), as meaning: "When (man) recites (the Qur'ān) while his carnal soul (*nafs*) pays heed to the recital (*tilāwah*), then Satan casts indications (*adillah*) before his carnal soul (*nafs*) in which he has a partnership (*ṣirkah*), since paying heed to them belongs to the passion (*hawā*) of the carnal soul and her lust (*ṣahwah*). When (man) witnesses the One he remembers (*al-madkūr*), not the remembrance (*dīkr*) of her, then he is turned (*inqalaba*) from what is other than God and does not witness anything else but his Master (*maulā*), while Satan becomes one of his prisoners (*asīr*). Do you not see that, when man (*'abd*) is inattentive in his recitation (*qirā'ah*) and in the recollection (*dīkr*) of his Lord, he makes his heart (*qalb*) abide in the lowest pleasure of the pleasures of the carnal soul (*ḥuḏūḏ an-nafs*) so that the enemy (*'adūw*) finds access (*sabīl*) to him."<sup>93</sup>

To review these variegated references of the *Tafsīr* to Tustarī's view of man's soul: In Tustarī's mystical experience man perceives his soul as the theater of a struggle between a God-oriented force and a self-centered tendency within himself. The mystic's task consists in overcoming the carnal and egoistic drives of his lower self (*nafs*) which militates against the impulses of the heart (*qalb*) that directs man totally to God. In reflecting upon his mystical experience of the God-centered force which is his heart, Tustarī discerns it as the vital principle within man which is his spiritual self (*nafs ar-rūḥ*). This spiritual self includes the properties of a discerning heart (*fiṭnat al-qalb*), a perceptive intellect (*fahm al-'aql*), and an intuitive spirit (*dīhn ar-rūḥ*), which are pre-existentially given to man. In pondering over the selfish drives of his carnal soul, Tustarī understands her as the principle in man which is the natural self (*nafs at-ṭab'*). Since the moment of creation this natural self is afflicted with the incentive to evil (*al-ammārah bi's-sū'*) and the leaning towards inimical whisperings (*waswasat al-'adūw*), which describe the egoistic and antagonistic impulses of its instinctive nature (*ṭab'*).

The moment of creation, however, does not signify the corruption of man's "spirituality", nor does the moment of resurrection denote the destruction of man's "corporality". In his primordial perfection, in the form of a particle of light and Adam's seed, man is invested with the

<sup>92</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 63; Sulamī, *Ḥaqā'iq at-tafsīr*, 142 a/179 b.

<sup>93</sup> Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 66.

luminous perfection of his spiritual nature. Upon his creation man is given the coarse elements of his material nature and is made aware by God of its instinctive impulses. In the world of his phenomenal existence in materialization man has to overcome his instinctive nature, so as to realize the secret of his identity which is the divine presence in his inmost being. In the world to come, both the spiritual self and the natural self of man are intrinsically united in the beatific vision of God at a point when man has achieved his ultimate and total perfection in the permanent subsistence with the Transcendent.

Tustarī's view of the soul of man is thus marked by a definite grasp of its reality as a total, living reality that passes through three existential stages. In pre-existence, the human beings are defined predominantly as beings endowed with intellects (*'uqūl*). They exist in their spiritual perfection as particles of light and seeds of Adam. In the world of creation they are marked predominantly by the self-assertive inclination of their carnal souls (*nufūs*). They live in their physical nature as believing creatures and obedient servants, who are capable of realizing their spiritual nature by reactualizing their primordial perfection and by anticipating their ultimate destiny. In the world to come they are distinguished predominantly by the total orientation to God on the part of their hearts (*qulūb*). They enjoy the physical and spiritual blessings of paradise as saints and friends of God, whose "corporality" has been integrated into the perfection of their "spirituality".



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